APR 14 1965

STACK 3

Page.

1. Function and Role of African Journalism 3
2. S. Vietnam Patriotic Journalists struggle 5
3. Two Revolutionary Journals 10
4. Anatomy of the Angolan Revolution 16
5. Rescue the Chinese journalists 27
6. Fascist Oppression of S. Korean journalists 32
7. The Caricature in Journalism 37
8. Documents — Reports 43

No. 4
July
1964

Africa Latin America Asia
REVOLUTION

AN INDISPENSABLE ILLUSTRATED MONTHLY WITH WORLD WIDE COVERAGE OF PEOPLES MOVEMENTS AND REVOLUTIONS.
REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM AT ITS HEIGHT.

revolution, 40 rue francois-ler, paris 8e, france.

Progressive Review.

* A PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC, BI MONTHLY REVIEW, WITH A SOUTH EAST ASIA BASIS.....
* FOR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY AND UNDERSTANDING.
* ANTI — IMPERIALIST AND ANTI — COLONIALIST.

PROGRESSIVE REVIEW, 2859 RIZAL AVENUE EXT, MANILA, PHILIPPINES.

THE SPARK

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND THE ANTI-COLONIALIST | PAN-AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL

DEDICATED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR TOTAL LIBERATION AND ABSOLUTE UNITY OF AFRICA

THE SPARK, P.O. BOX M 24, ACCRA, GHANA.

editorial

the Afro-Asian Journalist

SENTINEL OF FREEDOM

By
Joesoef
Deputy
Secretary-General

"Diseases cannot, and should not, interest a healthy man, but the doctor is in duty bound to study them. The physician and the journalist have something in common: they both diagnose, prescribe and describe diseases. Our journalists are in better position than the bourgeois jounalists, for they are well familiar with the general causes of social pathological phenomena." Gorky in his famous article on the "bourgeois press", with great conciveness, pungency and realism describe both the role of the revolutionary journalist and his definitive difference with the capitalist journalist.

Two issues immediately follow from the above and that is the completely different standard that we Afro-Asian Latin American journalists set when diagnosing, prescribing and describing events, and the second is our firm belief to better acquaint ourselves with the imperialist press and lackeys, so as to better understand the strategy and tactics they employ. These two issues go hand in hand, and we cannot shun inquiring more about the latter as we faithfully carry out the first.

The Afro-Asian journalist should therefore be as attentive toward the testimony of the Imperialist press, (their hangers on, and their apologists) as the physician is toward the cries and groans of a patient. In parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the Press Lords from the West, still control various firms of mass media, especially the sources of Information-the news agencies, numerous newspapers and journals, cinemas and its source of supply. The news and films that supplied to us, at immense cost materially, are in complete dissonance to our Afro-Asian concepts, norms and mores, and in turn cost us tremendously spiritually. They are a cancer that fetter and grow, gnawing at our vitals, and in the long run paralysing us into passivity, and acceptance of values that are completely antithetical to our Revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist concepts. No paliatives, no meeting them halfway, no coexisting with them, can meet the situation. Only a complete surgical operation can prevent this dangerous cancerous growth from spreading and infectiously spreading its evil germs in our body politic. In short it is very essential for us guard against the "news", and "information" that reach us through the Imperialist news agencies and press. We should 'read between the lines', and properly assess the motives and aims, the strategy and tactics that lie behind every bit of news and information that they churn out at such fast rate.

Quite recently, the British press, with a fanfare of bluster and fluster, and with deep malicious intent vociforously attacked the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The intention was clear. To destroy this Union, to encourage the balkanisation of Africa, and sow doubts as to the puissant wisdom of a Continental Government in Africa. Of course the people of Zanzibar and Tanganyika saw through these slanderous attacks, 'read between the lines' and with typical Africa thoroughness and insight sternly condemned these reports.

In a recent issue of "Life" magazine, that faithful mouthpiece of US imperialism, the Governments, Heads of State, and peoples of North Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Burma and China were subjected to the filthiest, insulting, yellow journalism that only the Imperialist press and their lackeys are capable of. But all their attacks only serve to proof our contention that these journals, faithful mouthpieces of Imperialism, are our enemies, and must be ejected, must be removed from our healthy body politic. They must be removed as only a cancerous growth can be removed.

However, sometimes the lines of attack and malice are not so clearly drawn. And they do not necessarily come directly from the Imperialist press, but from journals and people who have long ago capitulated to Imperialism, by preaching collaboration between oppressor and oppressed. Their 'hand out' are even more dangerous, because under the cloak of being 'anti imperialist', and 'anti-colonialist' their wares sound more genuine and acceptable. A recent issue of "New Africa" a London printed journal with diabolical intent, accuses with no foundation except 'according to information obtained from different realiable sources (?)' the People's Republic of China of continuing to trade and even increasing its trade with the fascist Verwoerd government. As seasoned hands at the game we of course know what phrases like 'according to information obtained from different reliable sources' really mean. What if only to cover up reports that have no reliable source, and is the creation of malicious intent. What if only to malign and attempt to split the unity of Afro-Asia, of attempting to isolate Peoples of China from the revolutionary forces of Africa. Unfortunately for these mouthpieces of capitulation to Imperialism, the Afro-Asian peoples have correctly 'read bettween the lines', and are closing their ranks against these forces who are intent on splitting our rocklike unity founded on correct and bold anti-Imperialist and anti-Colonialist line.

When Gorky says that the revolutionary journalist is in a far better position, because he is well aware of 'the general causes of social pathological phenomena', than the capitalist journalist, he is hitting right at the kernel of the interpretation of revolutionary objectivity that govern the outlook of an honest journalism. The Afro-Asian Latin American and other progressive journalists stand completely opposed to the apologists and mouthpieces of Imperialism, and those who today have fallen prey to reactionary pragmatism and subjectivity. Precisely because they are in the centre of the storm centres, in the areas where imperialism led by US, is the most rampant, the most vicious, the most arrogant and where they are meeting their doom, the Afro-Asian Latin American journalist is in a far better position, by virtue of the sheer objective situation, of understanding and appreciating the wiliness and aggressiveness of Imperialism and Colonialism. It therefore falls on the shoulders of the Afro-Asian Latin American journalists, who naturally have not fallen victim to obfuscation, pragmatism and subjectivism, to four-squaredly headlong meet the common enemy. To put the question thus, is not to be chauvinistic and racialistic, but to be realistically objective, and to recognise the revolutionary atmosphere and the employment of the proper strategy and tactics. Without an understanding of these tactics and strategy which we have to employ we will never be able to successfully headlong meet and destroy Imperialism and Colonialism.

The same moral laws that govern man, govern the institutions he creates. This equability of moral obligations becomes even stricter when applied to journalistic publications, which are today the best medium for the expression of public opinion, and for the purpose of revolutionary organisation and propaganda. To us Afro-Asian journalists this means being the Tool of the Afro-Asian Revolution, and utilising our journals as a formidable weapon. For us to strive for a revolutionary ideal, an ideal based on the Bandung elan which envisages a world free from Imperialism and Colonialism, there can be no intimidation by force, nor persuasion by flattery or Moloch. We observe one rule of conduct only, both in speech and in action. And that is our unswerving anti-imperialist/anti-colonialist attitude, and our implicit faith in the might of the people which decides every thing. This single standard of conduct is proof of the soundness of our convictions and the first obligation in the defence of our noble ideals. Contrasted to this stand, are elements that claim the same ideal but who observe two rules of conduct, one in speech and one in conduct. Who claim that they are anti-imperialist, but who in actuality connive with imperialism. Such forces in fact are reactionary, blunt our struggle and are only advantageous to our common enemy. They create obstacles that now and then are difficult to overcome. Some have a direct impact, while others manifest themselves by parabolic action, according to the strategy employed. They try to steer a course between the Scylla of Imperialism and the Charydbis of the peoples' anti-Imperialist/anti-Colonialist struggle, by elevating themselves above both the people and their struggle. And from these safe lofty heights, they together with the epigons, are advocating a graveyard policy of compromise between oppressed and oppressor, a policy which someone called the last refuge of cavillers. It is our duty to expose these schematists that believe that imperialism has changed its nature, and thus preach a confrontation that offers the golden glove, surrender and capitulation.

In our daily work of diagnosing, as Gorky puts it, it is very essential for us to fully understand the strategy and tactics employed by the neo-colonialists. We must know the inner contradictions, forces and tactics. The comprehension of the reality of neo-colonialism, the precise study of the means it employs, the isolation of the elements that give it support in our various countries. These need constant work of investigation and clarification. Therefore we firmly belief that journalism cannot be separated from the objective political milieu in which the Afro-Asian journalist finds himself. To those who preach a journalism free from politics, and who meander and waddle in technical expertise in journalism as the only criterion for true journalism, is to subscribe to the journalism for journalism trash, which, in the words of Hegel has been trampled underfoot by the passage of history.

A journalist who has no theory about the revolutionary role of his labours is bound to fall into pitfalls. Being an ideological worker continuously, he must play his part, and we assert, vital part in the body politic. In this the Afro-Asian journalist has a distinct advantage over other journalists because his mentor, his school and later his university is the very society in which he lives, a society which is intimately embroiled in the battle against Imperialism and Colonialism, a society situated right in the middle of the storm centres. And this school brooks no compromise, no blurring of the demarcation line between the partisans of national independence and the reactionaries, or the oppressor and oppressed, on the other hand. What it does require is to fight in a bolder way, more vigilantly, more skillfully, more tenaciously and more painstakingly.

These are the issues that face us. No counter revolutionary violence, no schemes from those who have long capitulated to Imperialism, no reactionary pragmatism, no lies and malreporting can stop us from diagnosing, prescribing and describing the objective revolutionary truth with the Bandung elan as a guiding light, and the AAJA as the centre around which the polarization of revolutionary journalism will and is taking place. Freedom, revolution and the people always win the last battle, oppression, counter-revolution and reactionaries have never endured. Such is the inevitable course of History.

THE ROLE OF A TRUE AFRICAN JOURNALIST and Press

Dr KWAME NKRUMAH

What are the guiding points that govern the African journalist? What criterion should he employ in reporting? What makes good journalese? How should the African journalist fully intergrate himself into the African Revolution? What are his tasks? These and other pertinent questions which face new Africa, as well as Asia, were aptly answered by the revolutionary address of Pres. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana in his opening address to the historic Second Conference of African Journalists held in Accra, November. Below we publish, because of its pertinence to our struggle against Imperialism and Colonialism, some extracts of this well presented address.

If we interpret journalism as the dissemination of news and the clarion to action, then journalism is certainly not new to Africa.

From time immemorial we have developed our own special system of transmitting news and messages across the country, from village to village, from community to community; we have devised our peculiar means of gathering our people together and putting problems before them for decision. The talking drums and the courier have been the harbingers of news. From the days of the drum, we have accepted as an inexorable canon that the news which transmitted should be true and the information conveyed accurate and reliable. For the safety and the lives of many people might depend upon it.

In these modern days, we have the teleprinter and the telex machine for conveying news at greater speed. But the principle and the purpose of it all remain the same. Even while the drum spoke, we in Africa were developing more modern forms of journalism.

Indigenous newspapers in West Africa have at least a hundred years of history behind them. In 1858, only fourteen years after the Bond of 1844 and before the Gold Coast had been annexed as a definitive colony of Great Britain the *WEST AFRICAN HERALD* was edited by Charles Bannerman, a son of the soil. About the same time, John Tengo Jabavu was editing the *IMVO* in South Africa. In Nigeria, the basic ideas of modern nationalism were developed by John Payne Jackson from 1891, in his journal, *THE LAGOS WEEKLY RECORD.*

James Brew in the Gold Coast of the 1870's, and 80's, and J.E. Caseley Hayford, a generation later, edited vocal, nationalist papers; but they were restricted in their circulation to the few literate readers along the cost.

The astonishing thing about these editors and their small band of journalistic collaborators was how they managed to build up a secret intelligence and news-gathering service along the coast, which involved, beside the normal hazards of anti-colonialist activity, the danger of some of them finding a premature watery grave. In those days, there was no proper road between Cape Coast and Accra — not even the rough one we knew before the Government of the Convention People's Party built the present modern ones. So these editors and their co-workers worked their clandestine way by canoe along the coast to the capital, Accra. There, they ferretted out all the latest material that could be used against the colonialist government, and then they paddled their dangerous way back to Cape Coast. All these activities were done at night. It was always a puzzle to the British administration in Accra as to how these newspapers were able to appear in Cape Coast with such "hot" news so quickly.

Nevertheless, these and other journalists did much to spread the doctrine of equal rights for Africans, especially as schooling began to widen out gradually and we were becoming conscious of ourselves as political beings.

In North Africa, in 1930, *L'ACTION TUNISIENNE* was launched by Habib Bourguiba, now President of Tunisia, and a group of his Neo Destour party members. In the Ivory Coast in 1935, the journal L'ECLAIREUR had an immense success in African circles. It led a campaign against reactionary chiefs and colonialists oppression. It demanded measures of social reconstruction and urged the cause of the unemployed and of the African farmers, who had been hit by the colonialist-made economic crisis. Nnamdi Azikiwe's *WEST AFRICAN PILOT* and the organ of the Convention People's Party — the *ACCRA EVENING NEWS* — in more recent years, led in the field of nationalist journalism. Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, with his *WEST AFRICAN STANDARD,* did some ground work in trade union journalism. *THE AFRICANIST* emerged as the custodian of South African nationalism in 1953 and remained a revolutionary mouthpiece of the Africans of South Africa. Its founder and first editor was Mangaliso Sobukwe, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, who is now detaided indefinitely on Robben Island after serving three years' imprisonment for his part in the cause of freedom.

George Padmore, working outside Africa, but indentifying himself completely with its struggles, carried on almost all of his adult life a tenacious fight for African nationalism and independence. His contributions to the press of Africa and to that of peoples of African descent in the West Indies and the United States; his wide spread journalistic writings throughout the world, served as a rallying point and inspiration to the leaders of African Independence and the masses.

The African press, born of incipient nationalism, nurtered on political consiousness, and developed side by side with a growing sense of responsibility, is now strong and healthy, despite the many obstacles placed in its way. However, the fact that the press in Africa today is an important and influential institution, does not alone lend importance to your meeting to-day.

The special significanse of this gathering is that it is the first conference of African journalists since the Organisation of African Unity was established at Addis Ababa in May this year.

As such it can do nothing less than fulfil the purpose of a continental press conference on the Unity of Africa.

As a professional man, the African journalist shares with other journalists throughout the world, the duty of gathering information carefully and of disseminating it honestly. To tamper with the truth is treason to the human mind. By poisoning the wellsprings of public opinion with falsehood, you defeat, in the long run, your own ends. Once a journal gains a reputation for even occasional unreliablility or distortion, its value is destroyed.

It is part of our revolutionary credo that within the competitive system of capitalism, the press cannot function in accordance with a strict regard for the sacredness of facts, and that the press, therefore, should not remain in private hands. As, in a capitalist or — neo-colonialist environment, profit from circulation and advertising is the major consideration, the journalist working within it is caught by its mechanics.

No matter how great his personal integrity, as long as he remains he must mould his thinking to its dictates, consciously or unconsciously, he is forced into arranging news and information to fit the outlook of his journal. He finds himself rejecting or distorting facts that do not coincide with the outlook and interest of his employer or the medium's advertisers. Willy nilly, he adjusts his ideas to that of the class which his journal represents, the class for which it caters, the interests and objectives which it serves to advance.

Under the pressure of competition for advertising revenue, trivialities are blown up, the vulgar emphasised, ethics forgotten, the important trimmed to the class outlook. Enmities are fanned and peace is perverted. The search is for sensation and the justification of an unjust system in which truth or the journalist must become the casualty.

It is no wonder, then, that for every decent or well-informed journal in a capitalist country, you have many more of the kind that concentrates on sensationalism and scandal; that cover up facts or deny them; that manufacture news in order to mislead and corrupt. There are journals that employ special techniques of presentation in order to ensnare the minds not just of thousands, but of the millions, that read them. Every means, both subtle and raw, are used to maintain sway over the minds of men, and thus secure and hold their support in the continued exploitation and suppression of the oppressed. Oft-times they are led to concur in their own exploitation. They are enjoined against peace, they are manoevred against freedom and right.

Unfortunately, some of these journals have made their way into our continent and are employing their influence to wean our people to ideas and ways of life that run counter to our image and our hopes. We must be viligant against their penetration and their incitement. We must be careful not to take their falsities as models, either for our public or our journalists. For our African journalists have a different task, a higher responsibility, a greater objective, which demand a mould of quite another order.

In Africa today, three types of African journalists can be recognised on our continent: There are those who are purposefully and unreservedly devoted to the cause of the African Revolution. Such journalist are dedicated to Atrican freedom, African progress and African unity.

Then, there are those who by their work serve only the interests of private capital. These journalists have no minds of their own, no devotion to their people or their continent. They carry out the dictates of their foreign employers operating in Africa; they gyrate in the effort to anticipate their master's wishes.

Thirdly, there are those journalists who, unwittingly or deliberately, serve the interests of foreign governments by their support of the client and puppet regimes that have been established in Africa.

The last two categories wrap their distortions and their diversions from the truth in a morbid appeal to chauvinism, unreason and latent animosities.

Whether they are aware of it or not, they are misusing their talents and their opportunity in the interest of Africa's enemies and against those of our people, our continent and our cause.

We who are fighting against colonialism and imperialism, we who are fighting against the blandishment of client states and settler governments in Africa, and are seeking to create a just socicty in which the welfare of each shall be the welfare of all must stand against the methods of those whose journalism has precisely the opposite ends. We have nothing to gain by suppressing or distorting facts. Circulation of itself is not our first consideration; though obviously we are anxious to reach and inform the widest possible audience. But we have no wish to play upon the gullibility of that audience, for it is precisely to the interests of that audience that we are dedicated. And we can only promote those interests by self-criticism and the faithful presentation of truth and fact.

The journalist who works faithfully for our African Revolution refuses to sell his soul to imperialism and to Moloch, and thus starts with an advantage over his colleagues of the imperialist and neo-colonialist press.

Continued on page 30

South Vietnam Patriotic Journalists

Raise high the revolutionary banner

However, so far, Vietnam has remained cruelly partitioned. In the past 10 years, while North Vietnam has been building a prosperous life in peace conditions, the people of South Vietnam have had to undergo the horrors of war with its devastations, massacres, tortures and other sufferings. Many wives have been separated from their husbands, children from their parents.

Had the 1954 Geneva agreement on Indochina been fully implemented, our South Vietnam would have reunified and completely independent since 1956, and peace would have been strengthened.

More than ever before, the undeclared war is not only involving a constant and direct menace to the lives of our 14 million country men, but also a danger of its expansion in Indochina and South East Asia.

The patriotic journalists of South Vietnam cannot escape from this hell on earth.

Except for a small number of reactionary journalists, the majority of the South Vietnam patriotic journalits are repressed, tortured and jailed just as our 14 million South Vietnamese people.

The press is barbarously censored, many tens of papers are closed down, many journalists arrested, assassinated, imprisoned, forced to go to live in strategic

by Huynh Van Ba

hamlets or exiled to Poulo Condor Island. Many editorial premises destroyed and burnt down. Only 3 months after KHANAHOAN came to power in 1964 February, 38 papers have been arbitrarily closed down in South Vietnam — that is more than half of the papers which were closed by NGO DINH DIEM during his 9 years of puppet service to US imperialism.

Many Western papers had to concede that the Saigon regime actually is the most despotic and anti democratic one that have ever existed under any colonial rule.

Who has plunged the patriotic journalists of South Vietnam into this holocaust ?

Who has drowned the South Vitnamese people into the mournings, death and sufferings ?

None other than the bellicose and aggressive US imperialists. It were they — US aggressive impe-

Newspapers in the liberated areas.

U.S. officers leading S. Vietnam troops

rialists — who supplied the French colonialists with arms and money in the Indo China war from 1945 to 1954.

After the restoration of peace in Vietnam, the latter have openly sabotaged the implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreements (at which Conference Dulles stormed out after it became apparent that the US imperialists could not get their own way) and placed South Vietnam under the protection of the so-called SEATO.

To carry out their schemes of perpetuating the division of Vietnam and turning South Vietnam into a new type military base, they had set up in South Vietnam in 1954 a puppet administration of NGO DINH DIEM, a network of US advisers and through US aids, secured a tight grip over the rulling machine in the economic, political, military and culture fields.

Under the "anti Communist" signboard the US and their underlings in South Vietnam massacred and are still massacaring the South Vietnamese patriots who only demand independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, the implementation of the Geneva Agreement and the reunification of the fatherland.

Since 1961, US imperialists have gone further in directly waging a war in South Vietnam.

Kennedy himself made no secret of the fact that USA is carrying out "Special Warfare", an "experimental war" of aggression against South Vietnam, but also to draw experiences for the repression of the patriotic movement of the Asian African and Latin American peoples.

Over the past 3 years, in South Vietnam, the number of US military officers and servicemen have increased to over 25, 000, many tens of hundreds US planes, naval crafts, motor-launches, hundreds of amphibian cars, thousands of tanks and armoured cars, hundreds of thousands of tons of arms and ammunition.

They have built more than 100 airports and ten military naval bases, strategic highways etc. .....

Wallstreet magnates are sending daily about 2 million US dollars to South Vietnam for their dirty war.

Many US political and military figures have made frequent inspection tours in South Vietnam and held successive conferences in Honolulu to work out plans suppressing by fire and sword the patriotic struggle of our people.

All these go to show that the US imperialists have stopped at nothing in their aggressive war against the South Vietnamese people.

This is why the war they are waging in this part of our country has become the greatest colonial war.

In face of the US imperialists aggressive activities, the South Vietnamese people had no other choice than to take up arms to defend their rights.

In face of a far better-equiped enemy, with the experiences they have won in the former long term resistence war against French colonialists, with the experiences of the struggle of Asian-African peoples, the South Vietnamese people are determined to rise up as a whole and wage a sacred resistence war against the US imperialists and their lackeys for national salvation.

US arms, noxious chemicals, napalm bombs, aircrafts, tanks and many others US weapons can never suppress the ardent patriotism and the indomitable spirit of our 14 million South Vietnamese people.

The more the US imperialists oppress our people, the stronger the resistence of our people will grow, and will go on dealing many deadly blows at the US enemy.

Under the correct leadership of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, the people's patriotic movement has scored many brilliant victories. Since its founding, the National Liberation Front has continously become a centre around which the revolutionary polarization of political parties, individual patriots of various tendencies and social strata, including believers of different religions and different mass organizations including our South Vietnam

Patriotic and Democratic Journalists' Association, is taking place. The guerilla warfare movement daily developing all over South Vietnam has not only smashed all mopping up operations, big and small, but also thwarted almost all strategy and tactics elaboratedly worked out by the "Pentagon" military leaders.

The Stanley Taylor plan for pacification of South Vietnam within 18 months has failed in the main, and Dean Rusk and the other top notch belligerent military "experts" have to concede that the Stanley Taylor plan is a dead chapter.

The network of "Strategic hamlets" where million of our people are concentrated, along the lines of the Hitlerite concentration camps have collapsed. The heliborne and amphibian borne tactics don't score results they have expected.

With our 14 million South Vietnamese people, in face of US armed repression, jails, concentration camps, strategic hamlets, the South Vietnamese patriotic journalists have raised high the revolutionary tradition of a people who have waged a hard revolutionary struggle under French colonial rule — who have waged victoriously 10 years resistance war against French colonialist. The South Vietnamese patriotic journalists have united themselves to denounce and condemn, according to their conditions, the barbarous crimes of the US imperialist and their underlings in South Vietnam.

They have set up Mutual Aid Associations for the journalists-victims of the dictatorial pupet regime and have opposed the anti-democratic censorship of the US imperialists and their lackeys.

Many patriotic journalists have gone down in the streets to take part in many mass meetings and demonstrations in Saigon as well as in many other occupied towns of South Vietnam, namely, in the demonstrations of the Buddhist believers in Saigon and HUE against the US imperialists and their lackeys in 1963, and on May 1st. Certain others have left the occupied cities for the liberatied area, and have participated in divers revolutionary activities of the people such as enaging themselves in the army of liberation or to be correspondents at the front, following the combat units of the liberation army, and using their pens to record the heroic struggle of the army and people of South Vietnam.

Some of them have heroically given their life for this noble task.

The patriotic journalists of South Vietnam have formed the South Vietnam Patriotic and Democratic Journalists' Association, affiliated to the National Liberation Front.

At present, in the liberated area, in every province, there are 45 papers under the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front.

There are many organs of various mass organizations, such as youth, women, workers associations, etc. ..... There are cultural magazines, one bulletin released specially for the personnel and military men of the puppet regime, some papers and bulletins in various national languages for the minority KHMER and High plateau peoples.

The Liberation Press Agency has been set up, a source of news supply for our journalists.

To date The Liberation Press Agency has sent their correspondents to every part of South Vietnam from the delta up to the mountains, from occupied cities to the remote villages.

The LPA has sent correspondents abroad as well — to Cuba, Algeria, German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, etc.

Paper in Saigon openly advertise : refreshments : 12 piastres girls (on left) : 100 piastres.

Copters grounded by FLN and reprisals by Yankee led troops.

The task of our journalists is, through their pens to timely condemn and expose to the South Vietnamese people and to the people of the world the manoeuvres and aggressive activities of the US imperialists in South Vietnam, the first enemy of the South Vietnamese people and the Afro-Asian peoples.

We have to propagate the internal and external policies of the National Liberation Front, and the concrete measures to implement those policies so as to heighten the fighting spirit of our people in their struggle against the US imperialists in the protection and in the building a new life in the liberated area.

In the struggle against the US imperialists and the Khanh regime the South Vietnamese people become stronger and stronger.

Only in 2 years (1962 — 1963) there were 50 million of our people who have taken part in many demonstrations against US repressions and tortures.

The Liberation army and the people of South Vietnam have wiped out or disbanded 252,000 enemy troops including 1453 US aggressors, shot down or demaged 865 aircrafts and helicopters (many of these were hit several times after repairs) burnt down thousands of tanks, armoured car amphibious tanks, captured over 30.000 guns of various kinds.

The repeated defeats sustained by the US imperialists and their lackeys have shown without any doubt that the South Vietnamese people have the revolutionary ability to defeat any enemy whatsoever and however strong he may be, and our patriotic resistance war is firmer than ever and surely advancing towards final victory.

Our patriotic resistance war is a just one.

That is why it enjoys increasing sympathy and support from broad sections of world public opinion.

Many heads of governments and outstanding personalities in the world have sent messages and letters to the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, expressing their sympathy and support vis-a-vis our struggle, demanding the immediate withdrawal of US advisers, military and arms from South Vietnam, to put an end to the dirty war in this part of the globe. Many international and Asian-African organisations such as the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Council, etc., have admitted the mass organisations of South Vietnam affliated to the National Liberation Front as full members and have invited their delegates to many important international conferences.

Particularly, the delegates of the South Vietnam Patriotic and Democratic Journalists' Association have been warmly welcomed at the Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference which was held in 1963 April at Djakarta, capital of the Republic of Indonesia.

Many permanent representatives of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front have been established in Cuba, Algeria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic etc.

The movement of struggle for the ending of the dirty war in South Vietnam has also strongly developed among the various sections of the US people, especially among the progressive youth, students, intelectuals, scientist and religious believers. The world press, even the Western press have seen more clearly into this US aggressive war and therefore have sided more and more with the people of South Vietnam, strongly demanding the immediate withdrawal of US troops and weapons from South Vietnam. The slogans of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in South Vietnam put forward by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front in its program enjoys increasing sympathy and support of the broad masses of the world people.

The South Vietnamese people are very moved and deeply grateful vis-a-vis the sympathy and support of the progressive peoples of the world, particularly of the Asian. African and Latin American peoples.

The patriotic journalists of South Vietnam would like to express their warmest thanks to the progressive press of the world, particularly the Afro-Asian journalists, united in the AAJA.

In the struggle against the US imperialists and their lackeys for national independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, advancing towards the reunification of the fatherland by peaceful means, under the correct leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, with the sympathy and support of all the progressive people of the world, we, South Vietnamese people, are convinced that we will certainly win the final victory. Our South Vietnam will certainly be liberated from the US imperialists' claws. Our Vietnam will certainly be fully independent and reunified.

But, over the recent months, the US imperialists have tried to increase their war potential in South Vietnam. They have engineered successively two military coups d'etats to change their puppets. The US President Lyndon Johnson and Dean Rusk many times openly declared they will speed up the US aggressive war in South Vietnam. They have illegally, in April this year, sent to South Vietnam 4,000 more American military personnel, officers and men including combat units, hundreds of aircraft of various kinds, thousands of tons of weapons and other war materials including noxious chemical, napalm bombs, phosphorous bullets .....

Johnson has requested the US Congress to supply 125 million dollars more for the US imperialists aggressive war in South Vietnam.

The US imperialist are dragging a number of their allies and satelites of SEATO and NATO into their aggressive war in South Vietnam, stepped up espionage and provocative air activities against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, including intrusions of U 2 aircraft, dropping of Spy commandos and are eager to extend the aggressive war to North Vietnam.

The immediate tasks of the patriotic journalists of South Vietnam is to denounce more strongly these new US manoevres, so as to with the unity of the 14 million of the South Vietnamese people, defeat totally the US imperialists in South Vietnam and liberate our beloved fatherland.

Meanwhile the South Vietnamese patriotic journalists, in concert with the 14 million South Vietnamese people, pledge always to stand firmly on the Afro-Asian Front of anti-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by US imperialism, for the sake of national independence, democracy, progress of mankind, for the safeguard of peace in South East Asia and the world. The South Vietnam patriotic journalists fully support the AAJA and the Djakarta Declaration, and call for a closing of our ranks around the AAJA, in order to more courageously, and more determinedly headlong meet our common enemy, Imperialism and Colonialism.

APPEAL FROM HANOI

The Association of Patriotic and Democratic Journalists of South Vietnam has just published a declaration condemning vigorously the fascist act of the American imperialists and their lackeys, through whom they have ordered the closing down of 13 Saigon newspapers (7 more have now been closed down — editors) in a single day as well as the enacting of so called "decrees" aimed at suffocating the press in South Vietnam.

The declaration among others emphasises: "the closing down recently of 13 newspapers is not just a mere concidence; it constitutes more an integral part of the policy of terror and oppression carried out by the American imperialists and their lackeys opposing the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, and to save the critical situation in which they are finding themselves at the moment. By their purport of cunning purposes, these "provisional decrees" on the organisation of the press, of which the American imperialists and their henchmen make legal use, issued on February 19, 1964, try to rob the journalists and the press in the zones temporarily occupied by their enemies, of their enemies, of their right to say the truth, a right considered a sacred mission by the press. As article 5 of one of the "decrees" in question stipulates, any worker of the press, in no matter what case, can be accused of slanderous or libellous propaganda, violation of good manners and customs ..... Once caught for such an offense, the whole body of personnel among which the director, chief editor, manager, financier, author of the article, will be persecuted by the law and very heavy penalties of imprisonment and fines will be inflicted.

The declaration stresses, that in spite of all measures at stifling the South Vietnamese press, as enactment of new "decrees" as well as the vicious use of old "ordinances" of Ngo-dinh-Diem, and even notwithstanding the recent publication of "decree no. 93" which is "outlawing communism and neutralism", the military Nguyen-Khan junta and its American masters certainly will not find a way out for their frail lot in face of the revolutionary flood on the part of the South Vietnamese people.

Being the colleagues and fellow countrymen of the South Vietnamese journalists we all, the journalists of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are highly indignant in face of the perfidious machinations and intrigues of the American imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam.

Together with the Association of Patriotic and Democratic Journalists of South Vietnam, we unanimously declare to reinforce our support to the decisive struggle that all our compatriots and colleagues of South Vietnam are waging against the despotism of American imperialism and its henchmen. In unison, we join our voices in the appeal addressed by the A.P.D.J. of South Vietnam to the Association of Afro-Asian Journalists, to the Pan African Union of Journalists, as well as to all other progressive organisations and journalists in the world. We all, the Vietnam journalists as a whole, we would like to ask you kindly to assure us of your enegertic support while utilising the means characteristic to us, bearers of the pen, to condemn and stop the fascist actions of the American imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam.

TWO

When Pliny the Roman poet so emphatically said "Ex Afrika semper aliquid novi" he rightly characterised the continual novel experiments in all fields that had become the order of the day, in his then Africa.

Today, if Pliny was alive he would be so struck by the immense changes that are daily sweeping Africa and Asia, with huricane swiftness that he would gladly alter his viewpoints and utter "Ex Afrika et Asia semper aliquid novi". For surely in Africa and Asia and Latin America various fundamental changes have taken place. As a very good example of such change one has just to glance at the various journals that have appeared in Africa, Asia and Latin America, for it is in these fields (the press, radio etc.)- that the character, the substance and the form of the Revolutionary changes, in these three continents, assert themseves and become more pertinent and clearer.

It is in these fields where the revolutionary or the non militant attitude of the agents — the journalists — become obvious and clear.

Afro-Asian journalists and their press play an important and vital role in the life of their people. This was clearly shown at both the Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference and the Second Conference of African Journalists both held last year. The speeches of the various delegates, the collective information gathered during various commissions and discussions, revealed a new, vital and dynamic force that abundantly indicates a revolutionary committment on the part of various journalists and journals.

This clearly indicates the new forces which have arisen. These points were stressed by Pres. Kwame Nkrumah who in his address to the Second Conference of African Journalists emphasised : *"To the true African journalist, his newspaper is a collective organiser, a collective instrument of mobilization and a collective educator — a weapon, just and foremost, to over throw colonialism and imperialism, and to assist total African independence and unity."*

Equally emphatic Pres. Sukarno in his opening address to the AAJC urged *"Let our Afro-Asian press truly reflect the cry for social justice, the cry for abiding peace that dwells deep in the hearts of all men, welling up out of their suffering.*

"I should like to see the Afro-Asian press become an effective instrument of the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples to obtain full national independence. Let the press struggle, strive, and work itself to the bone, to ensure that national independence is no mere convention, no hollow lip-service freedom, but that national independence incorporates the Freedom to be Free, the right to choose the ideas and structure that suit each nation best."

Two journals that can claim to have lived up to the role described by Pres. Sukarno and Pres. Nkrumah are *"Revolution"* and *"The Spar"*.

"Revolution" which started off as *"African Revolution"* in May 1963 in Algeria is in many ways one of the most interesting, revolutionary documented and readible monthly that is appearing in the storm centres of the world today. The quality of its articles are very high, and certainly no revolutionary journalist can go without a copy today.

It is published in both English and French. It ranges from 140 to 160 tight packed well and glossy illustrated pages. Its editorials are well prepared, potent with revolutionary realism and pungently concise. It would do to well to mention just a few.

Since it started publication it has carried articles on various aspects of African, Asian and Latin American art, culture, economics, politics and education. With its eighth isue, its scope and contents has been enlarged to include Europe as well. Under the General Directorship of Jacques Verges, a noted Algerian journalist, the editorial board consists of such famous journalists and revolutionaries as Mahammed Babu, now minister in the Government of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Venezuelan Amilcar Cabrera and Angolan Castro da Silva and others. These are both active revolutionaries, and working journalists.

The second issue June 1963 carried a very pertinent and important editorial which openly revealed the revolutionary and realistic stand of the journal and showed it infinite faith in the masses :

Revolutionary Journals

Lionel Morrison

"For us, the important thing is that at the present time when imperialism is brandishing its atomic weapons, it is not the weapons that are the determining factors, but men ..... At the Conference of Unity at Moshi, around a clear programme, we were able to confirm our reasons for believing in ourselves. Our destiny — that is to say, the history that we are in the process of making — depends on us alone, and we know already, that in spite of imperialism we will change the history of the wold ..... we reject those who are against the strengthening of unity of all the revolutionaries of the Third World."

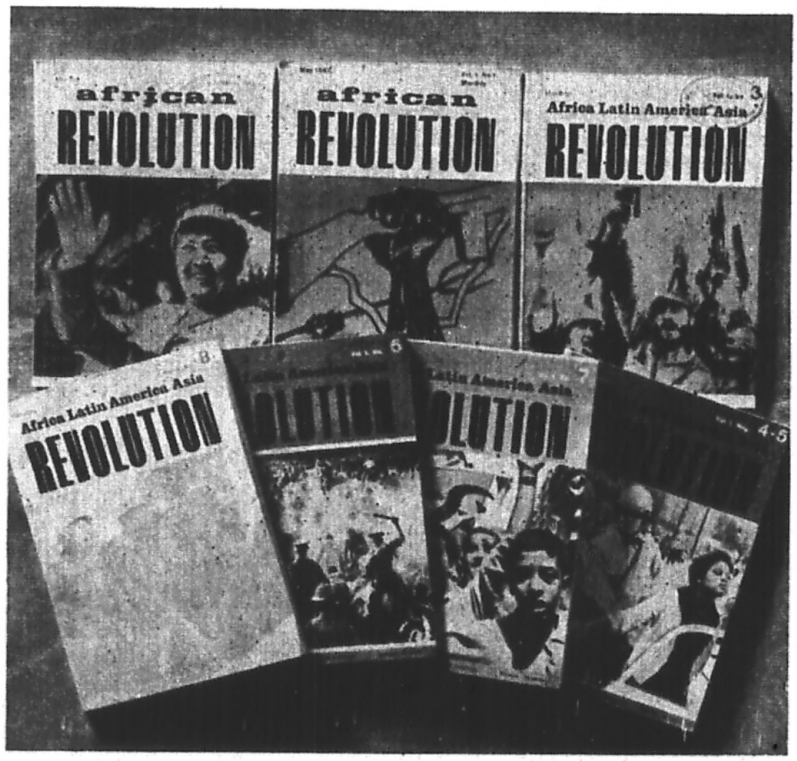
True to its words all issues to date have dealt very trenchantly with this subject.

The press is a full-fledged institution in our modern world, and has of course a specific function in our societies.

The greatest single factor in solving problems arising in our domestic life and in international affairs is a clear and positive correlation between the problems and the measures which are used to deal with them. Many areas are not likely to have their problems resolved until they are realistically stated. One or more channels of journalism must carry such statement ; therefore, journalism may not be isolated nor considered apart from the growth of the society of which it is a tool.

In its second issue of June, 1963, entitled "Clarity in the struggle" this point is aptly with great piquancy put :

"..... while continuing to study the problems posed by under-devolopment (African Revolution) intends to offer a forum to the leaders of the African Revolution so as at least to make known the real problems, complex and brutal as they may be ..... . We will do our best to see that the battle is fought in the open so that the TRUTH will burst forth, for it is our friend, it is revolutionary."



Journalism and as such any revolutionary journal is best appealing and most adequately understood, and serve its historical function only when considered as a field of revolutionary activity directly resultant from the peoples objective needs. A swift glance at the various aspects dealt with in the numerous articles in *"Revolution"* adequately illustrates the above premise. Trade Unionism, European Economic Common Market, the Civil Rights Struggle, Art and Culture, Neo-Colonialism, National Liberation Struggles, Fascism, Social Democracy and the Colonial Question, African Nationalism, etc etc.

Another major theme which is consistently dealt with in the pages of *"Revolution"*, is the singularity of our struggle, and the sameness of our enemy. At not one point is there a departure from this objective fact that our struggle is the same, and that we face a common enemy. Imperialism, Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism is dealt with

energetically and effectively, in one way or the other in every issue. In the 3rd. Issue July 1963, the storm centres of the Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Colonialists struggle is clearly demarcated :

"The Revolution in Africa is indeed in solidarity with the Latin American Revolution and the Asian Revolution. By broadening its name, our review confirms its past line and its double fidelity to the ideals of Socialism and the Solidarity of the peoples of the third World. The Colonial revolution is today the vital centre of World Contradictions."

In issue No. 8, Dec., 1963, the internationalism of our anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle is editorially punctuated, although from the first issue the article content and choice made this abundantly clear.

"If the struggle which begun in Africa, South America and Asia, must take diverse forms, it is clear that, from one continent to another, it is the same struggle that continues .....", the editorial of the Dec., 1963, issue emphatically and with great poignancy states.

From the brief indications given it is obvious that *"Revolution"* is very much a revolutionary political journal. It does not pull its punches, but hits hard and boldly and takes it stand four squaredly on the side of the New Emerging Forces — the militant forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

An honest and intelligent journalism is one of the most potent instruments for constructive service in our Afro-Asian Revolution. For, if you remove education from the abstractions of theorists and obscurantists and pragmatists it becomes clear that the objective is simply that of making the Afro-Asian community better informed and more skillfull in their approach of life. On the basis of this concept, journalism becomes a great educational agency. Journalistic media are more than purveyors of news and comment ; they are agencies having policies which are in conformity to our objective revolutionary needs, responsibilities of far-reaching importance and worthy missions of great significance. They are both leaders and servants. They are leaders because they help to create public sentiment, formulate the ideas and ideals of millions. and bring carefully conceived messages into the homes and the minds of the readers. They are servants, because they are the tool of the AA revolution. *Revolution* can safely claim to have fulfilled these fundamentals.

As a trade, journalism generally requires an aptitude and facility for perceiving, comprehending, and reporting the ingredients of major happenings in the life of the teeming millions-the oppressed and the oppressors. Furthermore, the practicing journalist must understand the art of headlining and displaying the news as well as all the other ever important factors in the mechanics of publication.

It is indeed in this aspect where the Afro-Asian journal and newspapers is at a disadvantage. Encumbered by the lack of technical experience, — the legacy of colonialism — the Afro-Asian journalist has to compete with technically experienced Non-Afro-Asian journalists. In our endeavours to present the objective *TRUTH* however we must not associate such serious objectivity to a dull style in presentation. Dr. Nkrumah succinctly asserted *"that even though he (the African Journalist) tells the truth, it does not make the same impact when presented in a dull manner with vain repetition, as if without conviction. We must make our publications attractive to the eye and easy to handle and read ... You will not beat the spurious and seductive output of Western journalism except by publications of high quality and popular appeal. The answer is not to copy them, but to excel them ..... to educate the taste of the African reader to the point of rejecting the unaesirable foreign wares."*

THE SPARK

(14) 3d. • A WEEKLY OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS • FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1963

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper)

EDITORIAL

SOCIALIST PARTIES IN AFRICA (3)

THE press has got a vital role to play both in the organisation of socialist parties and in the building of socialism in Africa. As a "collective organiser", it occupies an important position in the leadership of a socialist party.

Whatever role it is made to play, the press is a most formidable instrument in the socialist movement.

One fact stands out: the press can be a curse or a blessing, the brake on or the spur to socialist progress. If the press misleads it can give way to inimical ideologies. If it lacks an ideology it will be forced to find

THE SECRET WAR OF THE C.I.A.:

THE KILLER AT YOUR DOOR

RIGHT down the ages human history has been stained by political assassinations and coup d'etat. These phenomena, however, have assumed alarming dimensions and disturbing frequency since World War II.

Today they have become the stock-in-trade of vast and invisible armies used in the cold war for the sole purpose of making the world "safe" for finance capital and the giant monopolies that operate behind the imperialist governments.

This murderous game, which goes by the innocent sounding name of "intelligence", has its Western world management in America's Central Intelligence Agency, known briefly as C.I.A.

IN THIS ISSUE

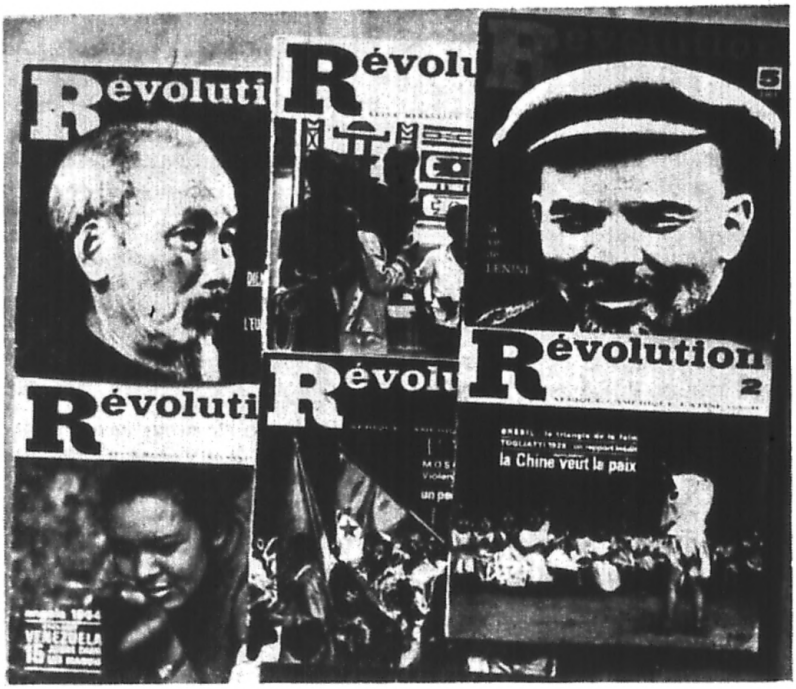
* Kenya's New Constitution
* Who Owns South Africa?
* One Party System of Government
* African Personality

DEADLY WEAPONS

In this field it is very interesting to see how *Revolution* handles this aspect. Liberally and very effectively using striking photos of the best artistic form and of an highly informatory nature and other illustrations, together with an appealing and eye catching lay-out akin-to top-flight professionalism, it becomes a real pleasure to read the very hard political material in *Revolution*. So well is the lay-out done and so effectively are the illustrations used, and so well are the articles selected, that it needs very little effort — and education — to completely absorb and enjoy the contents of *Revolution*". The editor of *Revolution* in exercising these characteristics meaningfully, have attained a significant appreciation of the factors governing and conditioning the relationship of man to man, of revolution to counter-revolution. So that one can say that the practice of revolutionary journalism, kaleidiscoped in the revolutionary journal, is a revolutionary manifestation of an applied art.

Across the other side in Africa in Accra, Ghana, another hard hitting, revolutionary political journal made its debut in December, 1962. This is *"Spark"* edited by one of the most politically conscious, dynamic, efficient and organisational journalist — Kofi Batsa, who is also now Secretary General of the Pan African Journalists' Union. *Spark*, which is published by the Bureau of African Affairs, has as such a semi official status, and thus speaks with considerable authority.

In Africa, it is one of the most interesting and readable weeklies. It is printed in large newspaper size, and consists of six pages. Modeled after Lenin's *"Iskra"* it is indeed a spark in the ideological jungle of obscurantism, subjectivism and pragmatic nonsense, that unfortunately is meted out to our youth, in various journals, under the guise of "socialism" — which in effect starts off from the premise that our African youth, our embryoic intellegentsia and our people, are imbeciles, incapable of judgement and understanding and fit only for a diet of intellectual



slop. They see fit, even with regard to the most serious events, to dispence with the need for the careful analysis, the critical examination, the honest judgement which intelligent criticism demands, and which is the hallmark of revolutionary journalism. Of course all this is very silly and worthy only of a cowbyre intelligentsia

"Spark" is an illuminating light in this maze, and has four — squaredly committed itself to serve the revolutionary cause, and to be in the forefront of the battlefield in Africa.

Its articles and editorials are of an exceedingly high standard, and accept the fundamental revolutionary premise that without political theory there can be no political movement, and that the lack of political discussion and therefore of political clarification make themselves felt in political confusion and obfuscation, in organisation chaos an inertia.

The first issue of *"Spark"* makes this point quite clear, — that correct political ideas and principles can however be developed and strengthened only in a climate of analysis, of discussion and criticism. No one can deny that right up to the present issue *"Spark"* has faithfully adhered to, and has consistently with vigour and poignancy pursued these fundamental political concepts.

Since its inception, it has carried numerous articles on various aspects of the national liberation movement, the Central Intelligence Agency, the African Land Question, neo-colonialism, culture and art, foreign economic "aid", one party systems, education, the European Common Market and numerous other specific problems affecting particular African countries.

It has carried various articles by President Kwame Nkrumah, including many of his important speeches.

Of particular interests are its editorials, which with no equivocation commits *"Spark"* to socialism, a Continental African Government and a rejection of compromising ideas. On Socialism in Africa, it has this to say in an editorial of Jan. 18, 1963 :

"Behind this struggle for socialism, some opportunists are masquerading. They are striving to confuse (and confound) the tenets of socialism. They are the group which believes in the parrot cry 'we are socialists' while busily engaged in the exploitation of positions of trust for personal gains and glorification. They are the group which

hatch intrigues against colleagues in pursuit of personal vendetta" and as if that is not hard enough the editorial goes on, "These people are not only wallowing in the backwash of capitalists ideologies, they are attempting to twist the ideas of socialism to satisfy their whims and caprices. Though some of them preach socialism, they still hold to the idea that there could be conciliation with the exploiting classes."

This is of particular interests, if one further studies its other editorials where it takes to task the newly fed notions of special "African Socialism", a speciality of certain West African and East African leaders.

It its issue of April 19, 1963 it published two very well argued articles on this question. In *"The ideological Battle in Africa"* by Julius Sago, a frequent hard hitting contributor, the following is stressed :

"The term 'African' is used to cover up the fact that the 'Socialism' advocated is in reality a negation of socialism. It is used to flatter African intellectuals into believing that the new ideology is of their own creation."

And he further argues that African socialism is one of the ideologies of neo-colonialism.

On this particular point it would be interesting to note what *Revolution* has to say. In its first Issue of May, 1963 in the article *"Guinea : Two Steps Forward"*, *Revolutions'* correspondent Gerard Chaliand in interviewing President Sekou Toure asks *"What do you think of so called African Socialism ?"*

Pres. Toure : *"And you, what do you think of Senegalese mathematics or Moroccan chemistry ?"*

Julius Sago in further articles thoroughly expose all facets of neo-colonialism whether it is in the form of political parties, or cultural aspects. Indeed his lively and well argued articles are a pleasure to read.

"Spark's" hard hitting anti-imperialists and anti-colonialists' articles are Africa famous. In a celebrated frontpage article on the C.I.A. *"The killer at your Door"* — it exposed with ruthless determination the sinister function of the C.I.A.

"This octopus organisation — makes use of military, diplomatic, educational, business and philantropic agencies and her West European allies especially West Germany — has pushed its tentacles into all countries of the world. Everywhere it plans to keep right wing pro- US. Governments in office and simultaneously plots the overthow of those other governments considered to be obstacles to imperialism's business and strategic interests".

So fearlessly and pungently was this article presented that the US Embassy in Accra strenously objected to it.

In the raising of journalism to the level of art, the initial step is the capturing of that element of political freshness and pertinence, and then its written application to what Robert Louis Stevenson so well called the "dialect of life". In this "Revolution" and "Spark" have succeeded. All their articles are politically fresh, and pertinent and written in the "dialect of life". Indeed as stated in *"Revolution"* issue No. 3 July, 1963 :

"There is no painless advance to political power wherever fundamental social change is involved. To defeat the privileged class and the elements opposed to the peoples advance and curb the developing 'new rich' in Ghana, is to challenge the whole capitalist order the world over — SPARK Jan. 8, 1964".

"Our reporters will be everywhere that the future is being built : In Cuba's collective farms, with the Venezuelan oil workers, in Brazil's 'triangle of hunger', among the saboteurs of 'Umkonto we sizwe' in South Africa, in the midst of the fellahs of Algeria, with the freedom fighters of Angola, with the Pathet Lao and the rebels of Kalimantan, in the Peoples' Commune of China and in the Maquis of South Vietnam.

Free men and responsible militants, they will report what they have seen with the greatest freedom and in keeping with the principles of revolutionary truth, without which there is neither honour nor victory".

Or as stated in an editorial of March 15, 1963 *"Spark"* in which it forcefully and convincingly expounds the role of the press in new Africa.

"The press should no interpret narrowly what its responsibilities are. Obviously it must, at every opportunity, present a socialist analysis of Africa's economic difficulties together with a reasoned account of the socialist alternatives of capitalists policies. ..... It must tell our people that capitalism favours only a lucky minority. Consequently it is narrow, limited and inadequate".

Many European and other journalists may find such journals when compared to the sort of weeklies and monthlies in Western countries to be too politically decided for their taste. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that *Revolution* and *Spark* are faithful and revolutionary mouthpieces of the desires, hopes, spirit and ideas of the millions of Afro-Asian-Latin America and the revolutionary working people of the other countries. They are revolutionary journals, of intense realism and objectivity that need the serious study of any revolutionary journalist that wishes to comprehend the new forces at hand, as well as the changing cunning of the forces of reaction, subjectivism, pragmatism and obscurantism, and who are keen to see the unmasking of both the Imperialist/Colonialist, and their lackeys.

At a time when the big press lords in the Western countries are frantically building up new press "empires" in the newly independent states in Africa, and when they are enlarging and consolidating their press interests in Asia and Latin America, it is very significant that such new revolutionary journals should be appearing to challenge the ideas of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, subjectivism and pragmatism. Coming at a time when press lords like Roy Thompson, and Cecil King are spreading their greedy tentacles in Africa, and when French newspaper interests are so big in the former French colonies, the emergence of these journals must also be viewed in the backround of the actual forms of information and propaganda — the newspapers and journals, radio services and press agencies, — obtaining in Africa. A UNESCO inquiry

revealed that Africa has only one daily, two radio stations and less than one cinema per 100 inhabitants. This of course is the legacy of colonialism. In Africa as a whole 218 daily newspapers are published, with a circulation of 2,410,00 Because of widespread illiterary, also the legacy of colonialism, press developments are comparatively limited, and the publications largely printed in English, French and Portuguese, they are read by a comparatively small "elite". These newspapers are important because this "elite" plays an important part in the direction of public affairs. It is this "Elite" which has been mostly affected and befuddled by colonialism, and which needs to be reeducated and decolonised.

Revolution and *Spark* have played and are playing a very important role in this difficult task of reeducation and reorientation which is so vitally important in transforming Africa. Therefore it is obvious that these journals are concerned with ideas, as well as with information. They are helping not only in the big ideological debates raging over Africa, as well as Asia and Latin America, but are essential instruments in the clearing of the air, which has been befogged by subjectivism and pragmatism. In the words of Robert Burns :

> *"Here's freedom to him that wad read,*
> *Here's freedom to him that wad write,*
> *There's none ever feared that the truth should be heard,*
> *But they wham the truth wad indite".*

Revolution and *Spark* are a vivid testimony of the vitality of the press in the storm centres Africa, Asia and Latin America — and of its close links with the basic concerns of the people. It is also a vindication of the journalistic ideal so passionately expounded by the revolutionary and martyr Antonio Gramsci who was editor of *Ordine Nuovo* — that the revolutionary journal should become in miniature, complete in itself, and even though it may be unable to satisfy all the intellectual and informative needs of the nucleus of men and women who impart to it some of their own life, it must strive to be the kind of journal in which every-one will find things that interests and move him to action, and which at the same time will lighten the daily burden of work, economic struggle and political discussion. At the least, the revolutionary journal should encourage the complete development of one's mental capacities for a higher and fuller life, richer in harmoney and in ideological content and aims, and should be a stimulus for the development of one's own personality.

In this aspect both *Revolution* and *Spark* have succeeded.

The Cuban Revolution is now 10 years old. Begun on the 26th of July, 1953 — it has continued, defying the world's greatest imperialist power and the "realism" of unprincipled politicians. —

From its teachings, those who fight for freedom have learned, first that the armed struggle is the royal way of popular revolutions in our times, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. —

— REVOLUTION — July, 1963.

A.A.J. Day in Japan

The Japan Council for the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association celebrated the first Afro-Asian Journalists' Day by holding a discussion meeting and a show of Afro-Asian films.

Taking part in the discussion meeting on April 23, the day before the Afro-Asian Journalists' Day, were several scores of active members of the seven organizations affiliated with the Japan Council for the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association — the Japan Congress of Journalists, the Federation of Newspaper Workers Trade Unions, the Council of Publishing Workers Trade Unions, the Federation of Private Broadcasting Workers Unions, the Japan Broadcasting Sorporation Workers Union, and the Association of Organ Papers.

The meeting heard reports on the present state of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, particularly with regard to debates at the board of directors meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee held in Algiers, and the situation on South Korea.

Discussions at the meeting were focused on the ways of further developing in Japan the movement of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.

The meeting adopted resolutions calling for early restoration of diplomatic relations and exchange of jaurnalists between Japan and China, promotion of the movement to demand return of Okinawa to Japan, realization of the demand of Korean residents in Japan for free travels between Japan and their fatherland (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), support for Cambodian journalists, and another protesting against the arrest of Chinese journalists by the Brazillian authorities.

Discussions at the meeting stressed the following :

It is of great national and international significance that the Japan Council for the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association rallies as many as 70,000 workers, that is, all the Japanese workers engaged in journalistic activities. It is necessary for the Japan Council to make special efforts in the future to develop it into a fighting organization.

Japanese mass communications media are a tool serving the interests of the ruling classes. The fight against mass communications media cannot be successfully carried out if it is confined within each mass communication enterprise. It is necessary for workers in these enterprises to carry out their struggles together with and with the support of, the people.

When we fight against the Japanese Government's normalization talks with South Korea, for the restoration of diplomatic relations with China, against the docking of U.S. nuclear submarines in Japanese ports, and conduct other struggles for Japan's peace, independence and democracy, we can support and encourage the struggles of Afro-Asian peoples for independence and liberation.

It is necessary to develop our struggles in such a way as to lead the rank and file workers to realize that in this way, our struggles are inseparably linked up with the struggles of Afro-Asian peoples.

A meeting held on April 24 to see Afro-Asian films, approved the abovementioned resolutions. The films shown that night "People of the Village With a Pagoda-Tree" and "The Struggle of South Vietnamese Buddhists."

Yuichi Kobayashi

The ANATOMY of the ANGOLAN REVOLUTION

by VIRIATO CRUZ

*The political crisis within the ranks of those fighting for the independence of Angola from Portuguese colonial rule is not only a well-known international scandal, it is also a tragedy for Angola and for all of Africa. The nine-nation Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity has already made its choice of Holden Roberto's Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile (G.R.A.E.) as the sole body to receive African material and moral support in the struggle againts the Portuguese, but the authority of the "government-in-exile" outside its tribal base in nothern Angola remains nebulous and the prospects for an Angola even nominally free from Portuguese rule are far from bright. But the Angolans themselves, except for Holden Roberto, have remained silent, permitting the most fantastic speculations to circulate. Now at last one of the principal actors in this drama speaks out, 35-year-old Viriato da Cruz, former Secretary-General of the "Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola" (M.P.L.A.) and a poet and writer of great talent. Cruz, one of the founders of the M.P.L.A. in 1956 and considered the leader of its leftwing, was removed from all functions at the M.P.L.A.'s final national conference in Leopoldville in September 1963, which reshuffled leadership positions in a high-handed and undemocratic fashion. * Cruz is the first Angolan leader to speak out and open the way for a confrontation of views that alone can aid the Angolan national liberation movement in a struggle that will surely be long and difficult, but whose victory is nonetheless certain.*

---

* We are reproducing in full a very important and pertinent article which appeared in the Jan issue of Revolution under the title "What kind of Independence for Angola" for further perusal by all our colleagues. The issues and questions raised are so important that they need a restatement.

The impact of the colonial system on the traditional African societies in Angola on the eve of the beginning of the armed struggle presented the following social aspects :

On the African side (4.5. milion inhabitants) :

Two million five hundred thousand producers were more or less integrated within the market economy.

One hundred fifty thousand were employed in trade (34,000), transformation industries (57,000), the mines, civil construction and the colonial administration.

Approximately eight hundred thousand were employed in farming, transportaion, public work and dómestic services.

On the European side (200,000 inhabitants) :

Group I — About 5% who made up the colony's richest group.

Group II — 17% were administrative civil servants, technicians in industry and commerce, well-to-do tradesmen and farmers, members of the liberal professions.

Croup III — 28% were medium and small tradesmen, permanent salaried emplyees in industry (6,000), commerce (9,000), agriculture, and civil servants.

Group IV — 10% were unemployed.

All these groups were and are politically privileged, however the first two were the most privileged economically.

That was the very precarious table of the active African and European populations within the framework of a single capitalist economy. The result of the blow to the traditional African structures was not sufficiently analysed if one takes into consideration the 350,000 Africans who emigrated to the urban areas and the annual wave of some 100,000 Africans who clandestinely left for the countries neighbouring Angola.

Altogether more than 2 million Africans, thrown out of their social and geographic environment by the disintegration of traditional societies, by the theft of land violence, hung on to life outside their customary frame of life, in areas of insecurity and despair, deprived of ancient solidarities.

It is obvious that the million Angolans who went abroad (almost all of them under Belgian, British and South African super-expoitation), the 800,000 wage workers in the rural areas and the 350,000 Africans living, in condition of underemployment, in the urban areas, constituted the focal point of the tensions and conflicts in Angola. The geo-social radius of these conflicts must inevitably include, as well as Angolan territory, the Congo, the Rhodesias and South West Africa.

Defending the Status Quo

Portuguese methods of integrating Africans in a vaster social and economic system explain, to a certain extent, the nature of the awakening of the anticolonial consciousness of the Angolan masses, as well as the forms taken by the insurrection, its insufficiencies and its problems.

But these methods are in turn explained by the determining factors of the old establishment of Portuguese fascism, which found itself faced with the necessity of working out a compromise between, on one hand, the wealthy Catholic monarchists and the liberal republican capitalists (who were especially interested in colonial exploitation) and, on the other hand the Portuguese bourgeoise and the rising fascism in Eourope. The principal aim of this was to exploit the colonies, to "effectively occupy" them and through this to attempt to ward off the threat of their loss to other imperialisms.

Hence the Portuguese bourgeoisie not escape hoping to accelerate the rhythm of accumulation of capital and trying to overcome as rapidly as possible the great relative delay in making this accumulation. Considering that foreign capital already largely dominated Portugal, the aims of the ciuntry's bourgeoisie required the increasing concentration of capital, the suppression of political freedoms for the middle classes and their condemnation to exploitation, the refusal of all rights to the working class doomed to merciless exploitation, the unchecked centralization of power, finally the intervention of the State in all fields of national life.

Within this framework, violence and arbitrary measures are the logical means by which the dominant classes ward off any threat to the status quo.

Thus, it can be understood that the taking on of these necessary measures by the State should end in legalizing and putting into general practice in the colonies the annihilation of Africans—at the same time continuing the hypocrisy of assimilation—brutality, ferocious exploitation, obstination in the nonrecognition of the movement of history.

Because of the scope of the radical oppression of the Angolan masses caused by this kind of colonialism, could only emerge, affirming its necessity by dialectical reaction, radical violence, a sharp class instinct, the impatient assault of the exploited against the external aspects of their alienation.

One thus has an idea of the subjective conditions of the masses at the moment of the beginning of the armed movement.

The socio-political and cultural consequences of Portuese "assimilation" played and still play an important role in the development of Angolan nationalism, because its principal leaders are classed in the category of the "assimilados."

In order to understand the relations between Angolan parties and leaders, it is important here and now to note that the assimilated sector does not, in general, have a homogenous socio-economic and ethnic content. Through mere observation, one can divide the sector into two groups : the purely functionally assimilated group, and the assimilated group destined, in the colonial context, for social and economic success. In the first group are the civil servants, employees in trade and industry. In the second group, the "assimilated" who, thanks to State scholarships, missions or the privileged situation of their families, specialize in different professonal branches in Portugal. Because of their social situation, their education, their psychology, and by the social functions for which they prepare, the majority of the members of this group behave in the same fashion as the petty-bourgeoisie.

Whereas the the majority of the "assimilated" of the first group, because they are exploited in the colony, refuse colonialism in their active behaviour ; the majority of the "assimilated" of the second group, sent to Portugal while youths, sheltered from direct exploitative relationships, and more integrated into Portuguese society than any other African group, oppose colonialism for patriotic reasons, or for self-interest or because of solidarity.

Each of these two groups of "assimilated" leans therefore towards different solutions to the colonial problems, in keeping with their respective interests and sosial situtions.

More for the first group than the second. Portuese culture plays the role of a privileged system of reference.

For the Independence of the Congo

The violent incidents which took place just before the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola, and in which Angolan masses took part were the riots of January 4, 5, 6, 1959 in Leopoldville. During those days, shops of Portuguese tradesmen were sacked, mainly by Angolan nationalists.

Moreover, the Bakongo of Angola had been affiliated with the Abako of the Congo since 1950 and were in agreement with the aims of that association.

However, well before the founding of the Abako, Angolan emigres in the Congo had created mutual aid associations on an ethnic basis. It may well be that the opinion of some Angolans that-perhaps because of their situation as proletarians and emigres-the Angolans were the forerunners of this type of association in Leopoldville.

From the development of several Angolan Bakongo associations, bound up with the appearance of nationalism in the Congo, was born the "Union of Populations of the North of Angola," which became, after 1958 Pan-African conference in Accra, the party of the "Union of Populations of Angola" (U.P.A.).

During the Congolese struggle for national independence, the Bakongo of Angola, as well as Angolans of other ethnic groups, realized that independence for the Congo would sound the deathknell of colonial domination in Angola. They sent funds—by the millions—to the treasuries of the principal Congolese parties.

Thousands of Angolans also took an active political role at the side of the Congolese.

For the Angolans—those living within the country as well as those abroad—, the independence of the Congo meant above all an irreparable breakdown of the repressive State apparatus in Angola. And, in fact, a considerable number of Angolans, after the independence of the Congo, shuttled back and forth between Luanda and Leopoldville on political missions.

The violent incidents in Luanda in in February 1961 inaugurated a new migratory current: the growing stream of Angolan political emigres to the Congo.

The Angolan parties then existing in Leopoldville some of these political emigres in posts of leadership.

All during that month of February, a series of violent incidents errupted in Angola's Cuanza-Norte district.

The Congo districts in Angola and and Cuanza-Norte were indeed a powderkeg. These are the two main coffee-producing regions of Angola (80% of the total production of coffee, representing 39% of the total value of Angola's exports in 1959).

Fifty-two per cent of the total number (2,012 in 1961) of European coffee producers are concentrated here, holding land representing 75% of Angola's coffee-producing land. Thirty per cent of the active African population of Cuanza-Norte and 8% that of the Congo district were wage-earners on these coffee plantations.

A large mass of expropriated Africans, victims of social injustice and poverty, were concentrated in these two regions of northern Angola.

Not only can the motives of the strength of the armed resistance of the masses of these regions be understood, but also how were formed the ties uniting in the common struggle for national independence the Angolan masses living within Angola and those living in the Congo.

The Angolan nationalist organizations were born in the cities of Luanda and Leopoldville.

After 30 years of activities in the two legal associations, the majority of assimilated" Africans in Luanda observed with anxiety that their economic and social situation was continually growing worse.

Almost all of the African population of Luanda at that time made up one poor mass, composed of the dispossessed and the ruined.

In 1955, the European population had increased 12 times in relation to 1900, and more than twice in relation to 1940.

The competition of the settlers progressively brought the economic and social conditions of the majority of Africans urbanized for several generations down to the level of the conditions of the peasants recently emigrated to the cities, where they found only underemployment, unemployment and insecurity.

The rivalries between African and European workers, abetted by the capitalist firms in Angola, also aided in developing all sorts of discrimination and racial conflicts, because the fact that the great majority of Portuguese settlers belonged to the lower social strata encouraged them all the more to try to benefit from their "racial quality."

Portuguese authorities foiled the attempts (beginning in 1948) of young Africans in Luanda aimed either at developing literary trends of an indigenous and nationalist character, or at integrating the non-assimilated masses in the legal African associations.

However, contacts between young Angolans and yong Brazilian writers resulted in the clandestine introduction into Angola of books and magazines which committed a part of the youth to debate on the great postwar problems: the social question, fascism and democracy, colonialism and the self-determination of peoples, etc.

Seeing that channels of effective legal activities were barred; learning moreover from its failures, a part of the youth began clandestine political action in 1955, with national independence as their aim. Thus was born the M.P.L.A.

The independence of Ghana, the acquaintance of the nationalist youth of Luanda with the manifesto "**Conscience Africane,**" published in July 1956 by a group of Congolese in Leopoldville, strengthened the conviction of the youth that Africa had entered irreversibly the era of national independence.

The almost complete liquidation of the social gap between a large number of the purely functionally "assimilated" and the masses who were constantly leaving the countryside for the shanty-towns, aided in establishing the M.P.L.A. on a large scale in Luanda.

However, waves of arrests in Luanda, beginning in March 1959, made it impossible for the M.P.L.A. (in other words, the proletariat of Luanda and other Angolan cities) to effectively lead the armed peasant movement.

From Racial Conflict to Class Conflict

By the very nature of colonial domination over Angola—an economic exploitation by interests with different origins—,the Angolan revolutionary movement was destined to clash with a "front" of powerful imperialist interests.

In this particular case, it was indispensable for Angolan nationalism to have the concrete support, and not merely in words, of the world revolutionary forces and, especially, that of the Portuguese proletariat and people.

However, this concrete support has been practically nil.

The only illegally organized party in Portugal is the Communist Party, and it is relatively small in numbers and has notorious deficiencies. "The majority of (Portuguese) political trends have not been transformed into structured parties. There exists a large number of anti-fascist groups and individuals enjoying a more or less large influence (1)."

The Communist Party of Portugal has, however, had no appreciable influence, neither in the preparation nor in the launching of ,the Angolan revolutionary movement.

The Portuguese Patriotic Front, formed at the end of 1962, bringing together socialists, communists, republicans, Catholics, progressives and liberal monarchists, shows major weaknesses in organization and it seems as long as that there are also problems of leadership (2), there will to be no reasons to believe that this Front would benefit less from the struggle of colonial people if it were to give them concrete support.

The settler community (except for several exceptions) replied with extreme violence, in deeds and psychologically, to the beginning of the African insurrection.

After the riot of February 4, organized groups of civilian settlers competed with the State repressive forces in terror against the indigenous population.

The murderous fury of the settlers took on a clearly racist aspect.

From March to May 1961, in northern Angola, settlers, organized and armed, outdistanced the forces of the colonial army in the number of killings and repressive violence. It was not rare to see civilian settlers shoot down African landowners and tradesmen with the sole aim of eliminating business competitors.

Beyond its racist aspect and that of defending privilege, this war of colonial reconquest marked a return to the motives and the procedures of the primitive accumulation of capital.

Faced with this reaction, and because of the fact that Portuguese colonialism and the settler community virtually monopolized class domination and exploitation, it is understandable that, in the consciousness of the peasant masses, the conflict between Africans and settlers (seen from exterior, different races) won over the naked class struggle as the manifestation of colonial domination.

However, despite the objective impossibility of the peasants to became aware of the economic basis of their struggles, the truth is that in Angola the capitalist process of exploitation only spared a microscopic African bourgeoisie, which moreover was without political influence.

Dominant classes; privileged conditions and race were, therefore, one and the same.

(1) **Perspectivas do Desenvolvimenta da Luta Nacional contra a Ditadura Fascista**—Portuguese Communist Party, January 1963.

(2) Mr. Cunhal, secretary general of the Communist Party of Portugal declared, on June 23, 1963, over Radio Free Portugal: "The Portuguese Communist Party makes no pretension of leading the Patriotic Front. But, as a member of the Patriotic Front, it has every right to hope that the others will also make no such pretension." Therefore, which party, which class directs the Front? In Portugal, is history no longer the result of the class struggle?

** Involvement of Nato powers. Herr Strauss, former West German defence minister reviewing Portuguese troops about to be dispatched to Angola.*

** Atrocities committed by the Portuguese colonialists. Here an Angolan revolutionary being beheaded by a Settler.*

** World wide support for Angolan revolution. Accra citizens demonstrating in favour of Angolan revolution.*

A Naive and Adventurous Policy

For more than a year now, important changes have taken place within Angolan nationalism. The most notable external sign of these changes was the recognition by numerous African countries, beginning on June 23, 1963, of the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (G.R.A.E.), formed in March 1962 by the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (F.N.L.A.)

As is known, the most important of these changes was the progressive degradation of the M.P.L.A. over the past year. Among the causes of this decomposition are:

1) Struggle between the interests of different social strata. Indeed, the M.P.L.A. was the Angolan organization which united, quite visibly, people from all African social strata, black as well as mulatto Angolans.

The M.P.L.A., in particular, brought together an even more visible number of intellectuals and "assimilados" destined to social and economic success.

The development of the Angolan Revolution could not prevent that, on the basis of their interests, origins, social situations and respective political situations and respective political and social aspirations members of the M.P.L.A. gathered themselves into blocs, each with different solutions to problems of organization and ideology, problems of tactics, of the united front, of external alliances, of the socio-economic structures of Angola after independence, etc.

Moreover, after the beginning of the armed struggle, when faced with Portuguese colonial propaganda concerning the alleged "basically racist" character of the armed movement of the masses, the various Angolan strata and social groups reacted differently.

Not seeking to look directly at the inhuman colonial conditions which had shaped the Angolan peasants; struck by a stronger affirmation on the part of the peasants of the values and symbols of their traditional cultures; incapable of understanding that—as Marx had observed—"the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new

scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language." Incapable of understanding all that, a number of intellectuals and students, members of the M.P.L.A. panicked before the movement of the masses and voiced excessive criticism the "racist excesses" of the fighting peasants.

2) Struggle for the leadership of the M.P.L.A. Certain intellectuals and "**assimilados**" became convinced that, in order to lead the revolution along a "decent" road, to avoid the excesses of the peasants and in order to guarantee the "progressive" result of the revolution, their presence in the leadership of the M.P.L.A. and the revolutionary movement in general was indispensable. This conviction was not based on the fact that these nationalists had rid themselves of the deficiencies and prejudices of their colonial education or that they had shown the capability for directing the revolution and were really linked with the masses. For them, a diploma in the professions and the idea that they held of themselves were valid criteria. For these nationalists, the "salvation" of the revolution would be guaranteed basically by the union of the "spirit" (a group of educated and "assimilated" individuals) with the "mass without spirit" (the ignorant peasantry and proletariat). This was the old arrogant and reactionary duality.

Some nationalists, fearing that the popular revolution would end in the upheaval of the conditions in which they had acquired privileges and advantages, avoided overtly defending their privileges, either by arguing the indispensable nature of the Portuguese "cadres" (basically, a part of the social basis of Portuguese colonialism in Angola or by contesting the value of the nationalist parties and leaders which were more linked with the masses, under the pretext that the revolution underway would not result immediately in socialism.

These demagogic positions served in reality, as motivation for fractional activities aimed at seizing the leadership of the M.P.L.A.

3) Struggle to impose new tactics. As is well known, there has been no success in uniting in a single front the Angolan parties, in particular, the M.P.L.A. and the F.N.L.A.

As for the F.N.L.A., it hid its real motives—its interest in utilizing for the benefit of strengthening itself the hegemony it held in a part of northern Angola, refusal to help make easier the crossing of the northern frontier into Angola by the M.P.L.A., attachment to certain aims, values and alliances incompatible with those of other Angolan parties, etc.—and its avoidance of a front with the M.P.L.A., while always maintaining that the M.P.L.A. had no military forces within Angola.

The M.P.L.A. was, hence, confronted with a difficult problem: the augmentation of its military forces required means of penetration into Angola, but that depended upon an understanding with the F.N.L.A., which, however, refused such an agreement. Therefore, it was only left to the M.P.L.A. to work harder to overcome its difficulties.

Nevertheless, before these perspectives, certain cadres and leaders of the M.P.L.A., themselves holding the positions cited above, defended the view that the M.P.L.A. should use new tactics whose objective would be the seizure of power in Angola by the M.P.L.A. The supporters of this view put forward two arguments: 1—The F.N.L.A. would constantly increase its military forces and 2—the Western supporters of the F.N.L.A. would aid it openly, at the proper moment, to take power in Angola.

The new tactics consisted, in general, of blowing up by propaganda the military exploits of the M.P.L.A., to seek strong support in the West for the M.P.L.A. and to obtain the end of the aid to the F.N.L.A.

4) The use of myths. Because of the exagerated propaganda that the M.P.L.A. had made for two years about the liberation of Dr. Neto, his personality had assumed the proportions of a myth for a great number of leaders and members of the M.P.L.A. After his flight from Portugal (May 1962), Dr. Neto, while maintaining his own myth, accepted the new arguments and the new tactics, giving them an authority that only the accumulation of failures could, a year later, reduce to its true limits.

The representatives of the new arguments and tactics finally took over the effective domination of the organization, seizing the funds of the M.P.-L.A. and legalizing their new situation by the national conference held in Leopoldville in December 1962.

However, by pushing through its electoral list, by 39 votes out of 70 delegates, the bloc in question made official the division within the M.P.L.A. and provided additional reasons for an opposition to its new policy.

The renewal of old relationships between several of the new leaders and several of a certain Portuguese "Left" linked with the revisionist trend, once again mobile, aided the acceleration of the division within the M.P.L.A.

Members were constantly being suspended and expelled—due to the arbitrary methods of the new disciplinary principle called "synthesis of the political and the military"—and were presented by the diplomats of the M.P.L.A. as adversaries of the political trends, parties and interests from which the new leadership demanded support. Thus, intrigue played an increasing role in this policy.

The National Polical Council (the organization's highest body) and the Control Commission, created by the conference of December 1962, were never set up. The group responsible for the external relations of the movement seized the material means of the organization, with the intention of appearing, at the moment when it would be at the head of the M.P.L.A., as a genuine driving force. It was in this sense that were taken, between the month of August and the end of the conference of December 1, important military measures. However, the profound division of the M.P.L.A. was already well known in Leopolwville and the chances of resolving those problems disappeared during the month of January 1963.

The situation thus created obliged scores of well-trained soldiers of the M.P.L.A. to enlist within the ranks of the F.N.L.A., where they taught the use of arms to thousands of Angolan peasants.

The F.N.L.A., therefore, benefited indirectly from the decomposition of the M.P.L.A.

The recognition of the G.R.A.E. by the Congolese Government—a foreseeable event after the joint communique of June 8 of Abbe Youlou and Mr. Adoula—further pushed the leadership of the M.P.L.A. into a policy that was both naive and adventurous.

Observing the state of division of the M.P.L.A. and its isolation from the masses, the leaders of that organization, on the eve of the meeting in Leopoldville of the Committee of Conciliation appointed by the Committee of Coordination in Dar es Salaam, then tried to create the appearance of mass support by forming, on July 8, a Front (F.D.L.A.) with four Angolan groups, including two long known for their contacts with the Portuguese colonial administration.

It can then be undersood why, by the use of false accusations, the ruling group of the M.P.L.A. led elements of the Congolese police to arrest, on July 8, 43 Angolans belonging to group of the M.P.L.A. that, three days earlier, had withrawn its support for the policy of the ruling group and had proposed a plan of rapid recovery and reunification of the organization. These activities of the leaders of the M.P.L.A. had, in fact, for result the mortal lowering of the moral and political authority of that organization in the eyes of Congolese authorities.

In considering the F.N.L.A. as the only Angolan fighting front, and by recommending the recognition of the G.R.A.E. to African States, the Committee of Conciliation certainly based itself on the fact that the state of decomposition of the M.P.L.A. prevented it from satisfying the pressing demands of the armed struggle.

It would obviously be false to conclude only that Angolan intellecuals cannot or must not play a role in the revolution. They have their place; and the importance of their positive contribution to struggle depends only upon their re-education in a revolutionary sense.

In our opinion, the historical significance of the upheavals that have taken place within the M.P.L.A. is that of a primary and elementary clarification of the problem of the driving forces and the directing force of the revolution, and in the confirmation that the ideology and the policy of the petty-bourgeoisie are without power to advance the revolution.

Perspectives

The motivating force of the national liberation movement of Angola lies in the violent social contradictions provoked by the establishment and

development of capitalism in that country.

Although the armed struggle of the masses plays a leading role and is progressive and revolutionary, it is not, in itself, sufficient to guarantee "full success."

The particular position of Portuguese colonialism, in the context of the struggle between the powers that have risen to the highest rank after the last imperialist war (U.S.A., West Germany...) and the powers which have descended in rank to second place (Britain, France...), not only explains, in a certain measure, the delay in the setting into action of the process of decolonization of the Portuguese colonial empire, but explains also, in part, the nature of the results obtained in the first phase of the struggle of the Portuguese colonies against colonialism and imperialism.

Among the colonial powers of the 19th century, Portugal, as a semi-colony of Britain, held already a place in the second rank and, truthfully, it was not a competitor of the monopoly capitalism of the first-ranking powers of that time. It is correct to state that "the role of foreign capital in Portuguese colonialism is unique", and that "no other colonial system ever permitted such dispossession from within."

Although Angola is the direct State and juridical dependency of Portugal, it is also the financial and economic dependency of a large number of non-Portuguese interests British, American, West German, Belgian, French, Dutch, Swiss, the Vatican, Brazilian, South African, etc.

The Portuguese "open door" policy does not excite the violent envy of absent financial groups—or those insufficiently present—either on the market or the exploitation of raw materials and means of production of Angola.

The present position of several powers on the Angolan market is as follow:

ANGOLAN IMPORTS

(In percentages)

Countries of origin	1958	1961
Portugal	46	43
United Kingdom	11	12
U.S.A.	11	10
Federal Germany	9	8
Belgium - Luxemburg	5.3	2.9
France	2.8	2.6
Sweden	1.1	1.6
Holland	1.3	1.5
Italy	1.1	1.5

ANGOLAN EXPORTS

(In percentages)

Countries of consumption	1958	1961
U.S.A.	25	21
Portugal	18	19.2
United Kingdom	16	19.2
Holland	12	10
Federal Germany	6.5	7
Italy	0.7	2.4
France	3.3	1.8
Belgium - Luxemburg	3.5	1.8
Sweden	0.2	0.1

Source: Repartiçao de Estatisca General de Angola — 1951.

Portugal's credit has not been damaged. Quite to the contrary, the colonial war can only continue because of credit from diverse sources. Besides the more than 100 million dollars lent in 1962 by American, West German and French banks, Portugal obtained 25 million dollars credit from the World Bank.

If this latter loan has the significance, according to the opinion of the Portuguese Minister of Finances, of a value judgment, on the international scale, of the "economic and financial stability" and the "available resources" of Portugal, one is led to believe that Portugal does its best to reconcile with its own domination over its colonies, their economic annexation by the international monopolies.

Moreover, the external market of Angola only stimulates the production of the colony's principal products. Coffee production (pricipal markets: the U.S.A. and Holland), in 1962, was the highest of all time.

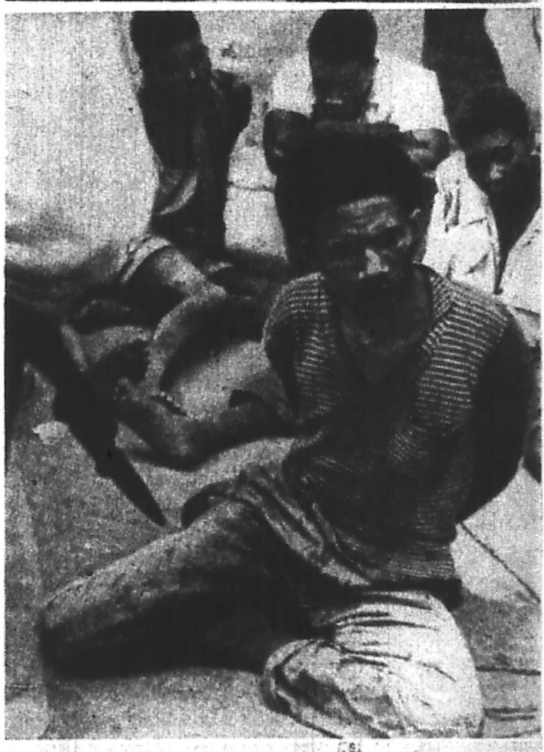
The foreign trade of Angola between Janury and May 1963 rose 39% by comparison with the same period in 1962.

The fragility of Portugal's economic structures, its genuine impossibility to safeguard its commercial, industrial and financial positions, its powerlessness to find positions to withdraw to, should it be evicted from its African domains, and to enchain by subsidies its colonies that had become indenpendent, all that explains sufficiently the Portuguese conceptions of self-determination:

"The consentment or adhesion of the population [of the colonies], expressed by long-term administrative and political measures, to a determined form of State and government." In brief: to do everything to prevent this self-determination from ever becoming independence.

Considering, however, that the Angolan sub-soil may reveal important minerals for modern industry, that Angola offers a strategic situation of the first order for the exploitation and the economic future of the Congo as well as for the imperialist battle for the "copperbelt," that the antagonism between various moiopolies arises over the control of the most profitable sectors of the economy of Angola and over the conquest of a dominant position in this colony, etc., it is certain that the deals that Portugal is trying to make at present will never produce a stable result.

Moreover, a certain opposition, already open, between the policy of the Salazar government and that desired by Portuguese economic circles attached to the colonies, has encouraged them to exploit the ideological corruption of the Portuguese "left" within the framework of a front aimed eventually at



overthowing Salazar. The "social peace" under neo-fascism in Portugal would correspond with a neo-colonialism in Angola and Mozambique.

Until now, nothing leads us to believe in a decisive contribution of the majority of African States (and with reason!) to the Angolan Revolution.

Following the latest talks at the United Nations between Portugal and the African countries, the Foreign Minister recognized that the real obstacle to the colonial aims of Portugal did not lie in the "moderation" or in the "constructive spirit" of the "left" or the "right" of Africa, but in the "extremism" of a small African "extreme left."

Experience has already shown that the revisionist trend will only poison the Angolan Revolution.

Considering that, on one hand, the "front" of imperialist interests who are opposed to Angolan nationalism and the absence of concrete support, either from the Portuguese proletariat, or from the majority of African States, the immediate future of the Angolan Revolution will depend, as in the past, almost exclusively on the internal development of Angolan nationalism.

The monopolies selling arms to Portugal, obviously interested in continuing the colonial war in Angola, will certainly not be prevented from manifesting their poisonous "support" for the Angolan nationalists.

Considered as the sole Angolan fighting front, the F.N.L.A. is the sole responsible, since August 1963, for the future of the Angolan Revolution. Will it succeed in uniting all the Angolan revolutionary forces? Will it transform itself into a vast organization, solid from a political, ideological and organizational point of view, functioning well and serving as an effective base for the armed struggle? Will it succeed in transforming the peasants, raising their level of revolutionary consciousness? Will it succeed, during the very course of the armed struggle, in resolving the vital problems of the peasantry, the principal source of fighters? Can it spread the armed struggle throughout the entire territory of Angola? Will it have the courage to bring to the benefit of the people of Angola the support of a sincere revolutionary internationalism? These are the questions now raised by all the fighters of Angola.

Letter from Sierra Leone

On behalf of the Journalists of the All People's Congress (A.P.C.) of Sierra Leone, I write to express our gratitude to the Secretariat for sending us regular supplies of the A.A.J.A. Journal which our many readers find very interesting and inspiring.

Today, more than ever before, Journalists of Africa and Asia are united in strength to wage a resolute struggle with our pens which are mightier than the sword against imperialism, capitalism, neo-colonialism and their lackeys which threaten our national independence.

We are happy to note that since the formation of the A.A.J.A., the African and Asian peoples have won many victories. We have dealt crushing blows against our enemies and we shall continue with our struggles till the forces of imperialism headed by the United States and Britain are kicked out of Africa and Asia.

Once more let me on behalf of the Journalists of our A.P.C. Party, assure our colleagues of the A.A.-J.A. of our solidarity and support in our common task to liquidate all forms of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and reactionaries from our two Continents.

Long Live The A.A.J.A.

Long Live Afro-Asian Solidarity.

Nancy Grant

Letter from GAMBIA

It was very good news indeed to see the first issue of the "Afro-Asian Journalist" — a very welcome effort much needed today. A media long overdue.

The cause of misunderstanding between nations is partly due to lack of contact between journalists of different countries. The "Afro-Asian Journalist" has the solemn task of uniting journalist of like minds. Their obligations must include the exposure of, not only, colonialism and neo-colonialism, but African and Asian mercenaties in their respective countries.

From the articles which have appeared in the "Afro-Asian Journalist, so far, journalists are determined to change the old system of imperialism which impeded any progressive move to advance the cause of their people, guided by a certain philosophy.

Here in Gambia, the Colonial Powers made certain that the Press shall not be encouraged by passing laws that no journalist worthy of his profession can accept lying down. For example, in order to suppress newspapers, the Colonial Powers passed a law that no newspaper or newsletter shall be published without security of £100 (One Hundred Pounds) Bond which, in a poverty-stricken country like this, is asking for too much; particularly, if the money is to be paid by an individual. For centuries, the people have been conditioned to have little or no interest in newspapers or literature of this kind. Successive Governments have continued to accept this condition. Even politicians, past and present, have no strong feelings about it. All are in the same bandwagon.

This is a matter for journalists everywhere to see that freedom of the Press and freedom to read any literature be mainained.

GREETINGS to all journalists wherever they may be.

Long live the "Afro-Asian Journalist".

Dixon Colley

August Edition

- SPECIAL ARTICLE ON LAOS
- A HISTORY OF THE INDONESIAN PRESS

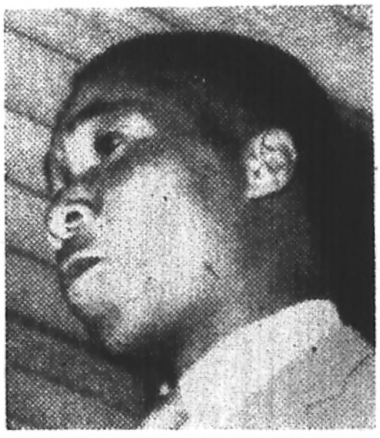
The vicious sentencing to life imprisonment of Govan Mbeki — African journalist, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and four other South Africans by the fascist All White Minority Verwoerd Government for sabotage, is a direct challenge to all of us. It is an insult to the whole of the world and must meet with vigorous comdemnations and greater efforts on our part to remove this bastion of White Supremacy and Baaskap, this cancer in the healthy body politic of Africa, this stronghold of monopoly capital-in other words of Imperialism, this archaic medieval citadel of torture, the 90 days recurring imprisonment without trial, of Group Areas (ghettoes), of Job Reservation (special jobs for Whites and Non Whites), of vicious censorship, of lifelong banishment, confinement, of Hitleric regimentation and control of 80% of the population, ... in short this last happy play and hunting ground of White Supremacy and Imperialism from Africa.

We assert that the present policies of apartheid is a direct threat to world peace, and that only by the complete elimination of White Baaskap and the establishment of a genuine democratic system which will realise the wishes of the majority to live like decent human beings free from exploitation and oppression, can the wishes of the African people in South African, be satisfied.

What however is also obvious is the hypocritical attitude of the British, USA and other NATO powers towards South Africa. They loudly, with intense fluster and buster condemn the Apartheid policies of White Baaskap, but at the same time they refuse to honour the resolutions of the UNO General Assembly, calling for complete sanctions of South Africa. The intransigience of the Verwoerd Government is also partly due to this fact that they know that they have "great" and "wonderful" friends in Britain, America and the other NATO Governments who not only trade with S. Africa but supply her with the arms that kill and slaughter our South African brothers. They must take an equal share of the wrath and indignation of the African, Asian and other progressive peoples.

Mandela.

Mbeki.



Finally we are convinced that in spite of this assistance of Imperialism to apartheid and in spite of the vicious sentences imposed on these revolutionaries, the freedom struggle will continue, will gain momentum, and will and must succeed in South Africa. Imperialism, colonialism, and its attendent manifestation, — Apartheid, is bound to be destroyed. We AA journalists will in our small way, for it is the S. African people themselves in the final analysis who will finally free themselves, help actively in this struggle, by using with greater skill and proficiency our pens, our newspapers and journals, and other means, to help our oppressed S. African brothers.

Editorial Board.

A DIRECT CHALLENGE

In a statement issued on the 22nd June, 1964. the Secretariat of the AAJA vigorously condemned the vicious sentences of life inprisonment imposed on Nelson Mandela. Walter Sisulu, journalist Govan Mbeki and 4 other South African leaders by the oppressive White Minority Verwoerd government.

Coming at a time when the whole world has condemned the Apartheid policy of the White Minority S.A. government, the barbaric sentences, is an insult and challenge to the Afro-Asian-Latin American peoples as well as the progressive forces the whole world through.

The statement continues :

Walter Sisulu.

The arrogant and gestapo attitude of the Verwoerd government is nurtured and sustained by the support the USA, British and other NATO powers give to the Verwoerd government, in their hypocritical stand in refusing to carry out the decisions of the UNO General Assembly to impose complete sancitions on the minority all White S.A. government.

The AAJA calls on all its members and on all progressive journalists the whole through to condemn the Verwoerd government and its inhuman apartheid policies and to render all support to the 7 leaders sentenced and the S. African people as a whole who are heroically struggling for national liberation and Independence.

Hovels, slums & hunger for the Africans.

The luxuries of .....

..... the black man's sweat. (For whites only)

Exploited to enrich the Whites & monopoly capital.

Verwoerd's police armed with British tanks & saracens.

South Africa: BASTION OF WHITE TERROR and MONOPOLY CAPITAL. LAND OF OPPRESSION, STRUGGLE and WEALTH.

Massacred for demanding equality.

Vietnamese Journalists Support Cuban Struggle

The Association of Vietnamese Journalists on May 30, 1964, held a meeting of solidarity with the Cuban people in Hanoi, at which more than 300 representatives of the local press, among whom numerous members of the Executive Committee of the Association of Vietnamese Journalists as well as leaders of various editing house in Hanoi, attended.

In an atmosphere of protest against manoeuvres and provocative actions from the side of the American imperialist directed against Cuba ague TRAN-KIEN about evidences of the atrocities committed by the American imperialists on Cuban territory. On the other hand the speaker told the audience about the results achieved by the Cuban people in their struggle against the aggressor as well for socialist reconstruction.

All the journalists present at this gathering unanimously condemned the aggressive policy of the USA Government, and ranged themselves on the side of the Cuban people, highly appreciating their heroic struggle against the aggressor.

In the same spirit of struggle and solidarity, the journals in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam publish a series of articles from May 24th to 31st, 1964, launching a press campaign in favour of Cuba.

One of many meetings held in support of Cuba.

Solidarity with Cuba

More than 400 journalists in Peking gathered at a solemn meeting, and vehemently protested against the criminal encroachment upon Cuba's territorial air space by US imperialism and expressing firm support to the journalists and other people of Cuba in their just struggle against the US imperialist aggression.

The meeting was held in response to the call of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association for holding "Solidarity With Cuba Week" from May 24 to 31.

Wang Yi, first secretary of the Secretariat of the All China Journalists' Association presided. A resolution unanimously passed, firmly support the struggle of the Cuban people and reads as follows :

"Since the Caribbean crisis engineered by US imperialism 18 months ago, the United States has never ceased its aggressive and provocative activities against Cuba. In fact, it is stepping up these activities. The Johnson administration has indicated that it would continue US spy flights in Cuba's territorial air space. Moreover, it had incited Cuban counter-revolutionary elements to attack the Pillon port of Oriente Province. These vicious actions are fresh evidence that US imperialism is the mortal enemy of the people of Cuba, of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and of the whole world. The heroic Cuban people, arms in hand and united as one under the leadership of Fidel Castro, are ready to repulse any aggression by US imperialism. We firmly believe that the Cuban people who have stood the test of the severe struggle, are invicible. The US imperialist aggression against Cuba is doomed to failure. The 650 million Chinese people, together with the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world, resolutely support the five just demands of the Cuban people and their just struggle against the new provocative activities of US imperialism".

STAY THE US IMPERIALISTS HAND

RESCUE THE VICTIMISED CHINESE JOURNALISTS AND TRADE PERSONNEL

Among the international political conspiracies against the peoples of various countries engineered by U.S. imperialism, the illegal arrests and persecution of nine Chinese journalists and trade personnel by the Brazilian military junta is a shocking one.

On April 3, 1964, three days after the military coup d'etat in Brazil, policemen of the security bureau of Guanabara State broke into the residences of Wang Wei-Chen, correspondent of hsinhua news agency, Wang Yao-Ting, vice manager of the China national textiles import and export corporation who was in Brazil for trade talks and Hou Fa-Tseng, who was making preparations for a Chinese economic and trade exhibition in Brazil. Without any legal grounds, they ransacked their homes for more than 8 hours and found no incriminating evidence.

Yet they unjustifiably arrested these Chinese personnel and other 6 staff members. Later in the day, Colonel Gustavo Borges, security chief of Guanabara state, who ordered the search and arrests, had to admit, according to an afp dispatch, to the fact that there was no incriminating evidence against the Chinese and nothing of a compromising nature was found.

The nine Chinese journalists and trade personnel went to Brazil in accordance with the agreements between related Chinese and Brazilian organizations and with the consent of the Brazilian government. They had all obtained entry visas and residence permits. All their activities in Brazil are aimed at developing economic and trade relations and promoting understanding and friendship between the two peoples. They had scrupulously abided by Brazilian laws, and that is why the Brazilian authorities failed to produce any plausible evidence incriminating them.

The illegal detention of the innocent Chinese came as a great shock to the fair-minded world public. More and more people have raised their voices against the perfidious actions of the Brazilian authorities in violation of elementary principles of international law. They demand that the Chinese personnel be released at once.

In order to carry out the U.S. imperialist plot of opposing China and persecuting the Chinese personnel under illegal detention, the Brazilian authorities, have concocted a number of absurd "evidence" against them. They alleged that the contacts between the Chinese correspondent and the press official of the legitimately-constituted Joao Goulart government and other public figures were "subversive" in nature and his notebook recording the interviews and the vocabulary list compiled during his study of the Portuguese language were "evidence" of "espionage". They also alleged that the necessary fund placed at the disposal of the Chinese personnel for the exhibition and other professional activities was to be used to finance the "subversive activities".

They even said that the money seized was counterfeit.

In the eyes of the Brazilian authorities, a banner presented by the All China Students' Federation to the Brazilian National Student's Federation as an expression of friendship was "iron-clad" proof of Chinese crime, an article on ancient Chinese rockets issued by China features and later published in a number of newspapers in West Germany and Finland and other countries was a design for the "bird-shaped rockets".

They even made up a list of Brazilians allegedly to be "assassinated" to vilify the Chinese who went to Brazil to promote friendship and cordial trade relations, as people who planned to "assassinate" the chief of the Brazilian land, naval and air forces. Such fantastic "evidence" makes a mockery of international law and human rights, and represents a wanton breach of good faith and justice which Brazil must honour in its international relations.

Says

Wang Yi, First Secretary,
All China Journalists' Ass.

The conduct of the Chinese personnel in Brazil is beyond reproach. They were cordially and sincerely welcomed in Brazil. All base vilification cannot them harm in the least.

To protest against the wanton persecution and inhuman treatment, they have been waging a heroic struggle in prison, including hunger strikes. The false "evidence" concocted by the Brazilian authorities, ridiculous as it is, can deceive nobody. On the contrary, it expose the vicious intention of victimizing the Chinese personnel. Even a staff reporter of the Washington Post, Dan Kurzman, pointed out in a dispatch from Brazil on April 24 that despite the arrest of the Chinese personnel, there has been no evidence to indicate any Chinese involvement in the domestic developments in Brazil. After all this absurd and ridiculous "evidence" was discredited the Brazilian authorities, in defiance of the world-wide just denunciation, again plotted to plant evidence in an attempt to place them on trial before a military court. They sent the innocent Chinese to army police and threatened to hand them over to a military tribunal for trial. In order to achieve this criminal purpose, on

May 8 — that is one month and 5 days after the Chinese were arrested and their homes ransacked for more than 8 hours — Colonel Luis Franca of the Brazilian army police provided the press with a "letter" which was alleged to be "evidence". On the following day Colonel Gustavo Borges, security chief of Guanabara state, in a tv interview produced a "diary" belonging to a Chinese named "Wang Chin" and even a pistol with a silencer said to be used for the assassination of a President and a uniform allegedly to be worm when a revolution is launched. This Colonel Borges, who once admitted that no incriminating evidence was found, shamelessly asserted that these were "iron-clad evidence" of "subversion" by the arrested Chinese personnel.

On May 18, one and half months after the Chinese personnel were unjustifiably detained, the Brazilian military court ordered to place them under 'preventive arrest'. The Brazilian authorities have been so arbitrary in persecuting the Chinese personnel that they completely ignore international law and the principle of human rights and good faith in international dealings.

By handing over the Chinese personnel to the military tribunal for trial, the Brazilian authorities attempted to make use of the opportunity to defend themselves so as to persecute them at will. The Chinese personnel in their peaceful pursuit of news reporting and trade have never violated any provision of Brazil's civil, criminal or military laws. Besides, they are not militarymen nor were they in an area of military operations. Therefore, it is utterly illegal to place them on trial before a military tribunal, and any sentence that may be passed on them is null and void.

Even a cursory examination of the "letter" and "diary" produced as "incriminating evidence" of Chinese subversion by the Brazilian authorities more than a month after the unjustifiable search and arrests of the Chinese personnel will show that they are crude concoctions by Chiang Kai-shek agents. Chinese public opinion has refuted in detail the much publicised "letter" signed by a "Comrade Cheng" and addressed to a "Comrade Wang" pointing out that the contents and the date of the "letter" were entire fabrications and this invention is full of inconsistencies and loopholes. The addresses and addressee of the "letter" are non-existent. The style of the "letter" is not in conformity with the Chinese habit, and what shows more clearly is that the expressions and phraseology in the "letter" are those customarily used by the Chiang Kai-shek agents. Although the Brazillian newspaper Journal Do Brazil published only a fragment of this forged letter which was allegedly written in Chinese, it is enough to expose the identity of the forgers. In this "letter" there are many Chinese characters which are no longer used in new China after the language reform. But the most fantastic part of the concoction is the forged "diary" said to belong to a Chinese named "Wang Chin". This man is said to have made entries in his diary up to April 4. The forgers, unmindful of dates, chose to cause this "Mr. Wang Chin to make entries in his diary even on the day of the arrest of the Chinese personnel and on the following day — April 4 in prison, and even put into this "diary" his presence in the Brazil's legally elected President Goulart's banquet and his dealings with Brazilian congressmen, generals and other celebrities as "incriminating evidence". And the "pistol with a silencer" and a uniform, which were not found in a thorough search lasting more than eight hours following the arrests, have suddenly cropped up.

What is this if not planting evidence ? Despite these forgeries the Brazilian authorities have failed to prove that they belong to the Chinese personnel and have failed to reply to the refutation by Chinese public opinion on the cooked-up evidence. The Brazilian authorities had better pack up these "iron-clad proof" because they are the iron-clad proof of the forgery by U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents, of the wanton persecution of the Chinese personnel by the Brazilian authorities. By using such poor stuff as "evidence" to bring the Chinese personnel to military tribunal the Brazilian authorities will only discredit themselves before the whole world.

In the past two months the wanton persecution of the Chinese personnel by the Brazilian authorities shows that it is an international political conspiracy against the Chinese people masterminded by U.S. imperialism. Since the illegal arrest of the Chinese personnel, the U.S. imperialist agents have been plotting this conspiracy and they have brought the Chiang Kai-shek agents from Taiwan to Brazil to take part in this criminal activity. The U.S. press and the newspapers of the Chiang Kai-shek clique have been slandering the Chinese personnel so as to create a favourable atmosphere for persecution. Since the Brazilian authorities declared that the Chinese personnel would be handed over to a military tribunal for trial, the Chiang Kai-shek clique has been impatiently trying to get the arrested Chinese abducted to Taiwan and separated from their families. This sinister conspiracy of U.S. imperialism can only reveal its hideous features of being hostile to the Chinese people and contaminated the international prestige of Brazil and make her become isolated in the world. The Brazilian authorities must consider seriously what role it has played in this criminal plot master-minded by U.S. imperialism and what will be the outcome of their tailing after the U.S.A. We warn the Brazilian authorities that it is high time for them to pull back. They should treasure Brazil's international prestige and the friendship between the peoples of Brazil and China, get rid of the evil influence of the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents, immediately restore freedom to the Chinese personnel and ensure their safety and legitimate rights.

We Chinese journalists express heartfelt thanks and pay high tribute to our colleagues and friends in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world who uphold justice and righteousness for their solidarity with the illegally arrested and persecuted Chinese personnel. We once again appeal to you : continue to expose this crime committed by U.S. imperialism against the Chinese people, demand that the Brazilian authorities stop carrying out the plot of putting the Chinese personnel under military trial and demand immediate restoration of their freedom. We firmly believe that in the face of universal condemnation by fair-minded world public opinion, the tentacles of U.S. imperialism will be lopped off, all its criminal activities will be doomed to failure and international justice and truth will surely prevail.

'MALAYSIA'

Verdi Lutfi Js.

"LONDON gave birth to twins!" This simile correctly describes the actual situation. One of the babies has been named the "Federation of South Arabia" and the other one has been named the "Federation of Malaysia". Both are the true children of British Imperialism! Both have come into being with similar characters and similar purposes.

Such a colonial concept is perhaps a new experience for the Asian peoples. But to our African brothers the case is different. The African peoples have already been acquainted with a neo-colonialist project in the shape of federation. They have also succeeded in crushing and killing this enforced federation. In 1953 the British colonial authorities in Africa formed the so-called "Central African Federation", consisting of Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe. They did not even consult the peoples concerned, but only look account of the voices of the Whites and their lackeys. It was obvious that the British would not gain the approval of the African patriots, as it was also obvious that they would be supported by the Whites and their lackeys while establishing the "Central African Federation".

What was the aim of establishing this federation? Every political beginner student, if he is a patriot, will be able to comprehend and directly recognize the characteristics of colonialism hidden in the bosom of such a federation. Then it is no else than neo-colonialism! It is a new type of colonial domination of which the essence is in further maintaining British economic and political domination in these territories. Every African patriot is aware that this would mean a strategic territory direct in the heart of the African continent under the rule of Wellensky — the Verwoerd of Southern Rhodesia — and a direct instrument of British colonialism. To put it in other terms: In the midst of Africa, without hoisting the British flag, British Imperialism would maintain its rule! White supremacy would be deeply rooted there to maintain and exploit the natural resources and to protect British monopoly capital in Africa! From the military point of view, "Central African Federation" was prepared as a strategic station for subversive activity against other neighbouring independent African states and also a military base to suppress the liberation movement in the dependent African states. A very good example comes to mind. British troops stationed in then dependent Kenya, viciously suppressed the struggle of the Swaziland people when they staged a strike for higher wages. Similarly, there is no doubt the "Central African Federation" would have served a similar purpose. With this "Central African Federation", a White Southern Rhodesia was expected to flourish thanks to the cheap labour of the people of Malawi and to the rich mineral resources of Zambia. Indeed, such federations are very ideal for British colonialism.

President Sukarno

has ordered the Indonesian people

* **to strengthen the vitality of the Indonesian Revolution**
* **to assist the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei in order to dissolve the puppet state "Malaysia"**

But we are now living in the middle of the 20th century. The era of the awakening of the A-A peoples! African patriots are not slumbering, they have been alerted a long time ago. The "Central African Federation" could officially stand, but the people of Malawi under the leadership of Dr Hastings Banda, the people of Zambia under the leadership of Dr Kenneth Kaunda and other African leaders, including those of Southern Rhodesia, were not passive. The revolutionary neighbouring peoples of Tanganyika, Kenya, Algeria and those who had already attained their independence such as Ghana and the UAR supported the movement to crush the "Central African Federation".

This British colonialist federation experienced three serious crises, namely directly after it was formed in 1953 then in 1959 and finally in 1961. Hundreds of African patriots were murdered and imprisoned during the above mentioned events. Finally they won! Through the proclamation of independence of Malawi, July the 6th this year, and the independence of Zambia, October the 24th this year also, this British colonial federation disappeared from the midst of Africa.

The "Central African Federation" had failed! British Imperialism had been beaten hands down. But Imperialists will always be Imperialists. They have failed in Africa, but tried now to introduce the concept of federation in Southeast

Malaysia

Asia by forming the "Federation of Malaysia". In the Arab world in the Middle East the "Federation of South Arabia" is now in the process of formation, or to be more correct, it is still being hatched in the Whitehall.

The "Federation of Malaysia" as is known consist of Malaya, Singapore and Kalimantan Utara (including Sarawak and Sabah). The territory of Kalimantan Utara has a direct territorial border line with Indonesian Kalimantan.

Where lies the similarity and the differences between the "Federation of Malaysia" and the late "Central African Federation" ?

The difference exists only geographically. The former is in Southeast Asia and the latter was in Central Africa. Besides this difference and some other variants, both federation are practically the same. They share common motives, natures and purposes. The British are always ready to pull down their flag in Southeast Asia as long as these territories are effectively still under their direct control. The investment of their capital must be safely assured. 60% of the world's product of rubber, tin and oil and many other important materials such as titerium, tonium and manganese are found in large quantities in Malaya and Kalimantan Utara. Also their strategic military bases in Singapore must be defended. This is from the economic and military point of view. From the political point of view, Britain is to arrest the progress towards socialism in Southeast Asia, is to encircle socialist China, is to sever the friendly relations of Indonesia with its northern neighbours. Their classic reasons is to contain communism in Southeast Asia.

As in the case with the formation of the "Central African Federation", in forming the "Federation of Malaysia", Britain ignored the opposition voices of the peoples of Kalimantan Utara, Malaya and Singapore etc. She only "listen" to the voices of her lackeys. If in Central Africa Britain possesses Wellensky, this time they discovered Tunku Abdulrahman — for the project of "Malaysia" — a servant to the British with similar loyalties as that of Wellensky.

Continued on page 46

True African Journalist

His integrity, as long as he persists in this decision, is assured. To the true African journalist his newspaper is a collective organiser. a collective instrument of mobilisation and a collective educator — a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism, and to assist total African independence and unity.

The true African journalist, abjuring imperialist blandishments and bribes, can certainly call his soul his own. His work may be more difficult because of deficiencies in the technical means of gathering information and the daily harrassments that confront him ; his remuneration may not be great and expence accounts non-existent. But he has other, more satisfying rewards. He draws contentment from an honest job honestly done. His satisfaction is in his integrity, in work performed for the betterment of his fellows and the society of which he is a worthy member.

He does not need to peep through keyholes for scandals, or bribe underlings to divulge what should remain private and personal ; he does not need to concoct or manufacture exiting revelations. He is not forced to doctor news and debase public standards to fit the purpose of the rich and the would-be richer. I am reminded here that a British journalist friend of mine once told me that sometimes the news items he sent to his paper in London were so doctored that he had difficulty in recognising what he himself had written.

The true African journalist very often works for the organ of the political party to which he himself belongs and in whose purpose he believes. He works to serve a society moving in the direction of his own aspirations.

How many journalists of the imperialist and neo-colonialist press have this satisfaction? How many know this peace of mind? How many work with a respect for their calling, and with faith in the society which they serve ?

These are high rewards for an honest man in the course of his professional career. But they are not earned without corresponding responsibilities. Every African is responsible to the African Revolution by the heritage of his birth and by his experience of colonialism and imperialism.

The responsibilities of the journalist come particularly high in the hierarchy of our revolution ; none higher, none more onerous, none more satisfying than those of an African journalist using his talents and his integrity in adverse and sacrificing conditions, not only in the cause of the freedom and independence of his country, but in the wider cause of the political unity and cultural and material development of the African continent, of which his country is a part.

Truth, we say, must be the watchword of our African journalists and facts must be his guide. These tenets, however, must not excuse dullness in our newspapers and our journals. They mut not be used as a cover for shoddy writing and ambiguous intentions. The African journalist is not only expected to communicate the facts and aims of our African Revolution, but to do so compellingly and without fear. He must continually and fearlessly expose neocolonialist subterfuge. He must attain a proper understanding of the African Revolution, its purpose and its travails. He must acquire technical proficiency and literary skill.

Even though he tells the truth, it does not make the same impact when presented in a dull manner with vain repetition, as if without conviction.

We must make our publications attractive to the eye and easy to handle and read. We cannot self-righteously or contemptuously dismiss the appeal or under-rate the seductiveness of the brightness in which imperialism clothes its journalistic offerings. Bright colours and gay forms are used to cover insidious suggestiveness. We have more genuine fare to offer, but we would be foolish to dismiss airily the blandishments that cover their frivolities and poisoneous intentions. We would be deceiving ourselves if we were to under-rate their abilities and their determination to penetrate deeply into our midst and draw our people away from their own true interests.

Africa presents a vast market for popular magazines—especially the smart magazines which cater for the faster juvenile and middle-class Afro-Americans, anxious to share in the fruits of the rich material environment so near and yet so far from their reach. Our enemies are intent to make these the thin edge of intellectual neocolonialism.

You will not beat the spurious and seductive output of Western journalism except by publications of high quality and popular appeal. The answer is not to copy them but to excel them — to educate the taste of the African reader to the point of rejecting the undesirable foreign wares.

To do this, however, you must understand our Revolution, know its mainsprings and its objectives. You must know what spirit we have to impart, what kind of society we are seeking, what nature of men and women we hope to fashion. The facts you gather must manifest that Revolution, foster its elan and depict truthfully its progress, its pitfalls and obstacles. They must encourage our people and not deceive them with false hopes or false achievements.

You have the duty to express the views which will move our Revolution forward. For all of this, the ordinary professional education of a journalist is not enough. You must understand the relationship between the press and our society and you must understand our society in relation to the rest of the world.

The truly African revolutionary press does not exist merely for the purpose of enriching its proprietors or entertaining its readers. It is an integral part of our society, with which its purpose is in consonance. Just as in the capitalist countries the press repre-

True African Journalist

sents and carries out the purpose of capitalism, so in Revolutionary Africa, our Revolutionary African press must present and carry forward our revolutionary purpose.

This is to establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent that will free men from want and every form of social injustice and enable them to work out their social and cultural destinies in peace and at ease .....

To build Africa must be Africa liberated from exploitation. Africa just and strong we must build it with the people and for the people.

Africa must win through to real independence ; and the only road open to us is the one whose first station was the Summit Conference of Addis Ababa. We must now press on quickly to a union Government of Africa.

Those who say that a continental government of Africa is illusory are deceiving themselves. Worse, they are deceiving their people, who see in the unity of our continent the way to a better life. They ignore the lessons of history. If the United States of America could do it, if the Soviet Union could do it, if India could do it, why not Africa ?

And it needs to be done now. No useful purpose is served by putting it off. On the contrary, recent events have shown that delay can only exacerbate our divisions and make our coming together more difficult.

We want the widest economic and social development, and we want it as soon as possible. We can get it, and get it quicker, only by planning it on a continental scale. And it becomes more and more obvious that continental planning cannot precede but must emanate from a Continental government of Africa. It is this recognition that directs our enemies and detractors to keep us divided. .....

This is the Africa which you, as African journalists, must help to create and develop, the new Africa of which our people dream, for which they stretch out their hands. With your brains and your pens, with the strength of your faith and the passion of your thoughts and words, you are the vanguard of the crusade for a United Africa. Never sell yourselves for a mess of pottage ; never allow yourselves to be bought. ... .

It is against these manoeuvres of the imperialists and neo-colonialists that the African journalist must be viligant. He must shout for all the world to hear, and place on it the responsibility for thwarting their designs against Africa. The African journalist must be just as viligant against our own faults and defections ; and against our dilatoriness and unwilingness to make a reality of African unity. His is the duty to guard our African Revolution and see that it moves forward in the right direction. He must speak out, no matter what the cost. His columns must vibrate with the call to the African nations to take up the challenge that the African Revolution poses. .....

Because we want strong and yet democratic governments in our African Revolution, we must guard against the dangers inherent in governments whose only opposition to tyranny and abuse lies in the folds of the ruling party itself. A ceaseless flow of self-criticism, an unending vigilance against tyrany and nepotism and other forms of bribery and corruption, unswerving loyalty to principles aproved by the masses of the people, these are the main safeguards for the people under one-party rule.

Who is best able to exercise that vigilance, to furnish the material for selfcriticism, to sound warnings against any departure from principles, if not the press of Revolutionary Africa ?

The African press has a vital part to play in the revolution which is now sweeping over the continent. Our newspapers, our broadcasting, our information services, our television, must reach out to the masses of our people — to the workers, the farmers, the trade unionist and peasants, to the university students, the young and the old — to explain the meaning and purpose of the fight against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. It must explain the necesity, for and the meaning and purpose of, a union Government of Africa.

Our press must be foremost in inspiring and educating the masses of our continent so that they can withstand the onslaught of decadent ideas and influences that permeate the ranks of the opportunits and neo-colonialist agents among us.

If we are to banish colonialism completely from our continent, every African must be made aware of his part in the struggle. This is the kind of education which the African press can and must help to spread.

You have a noble cause — I would say a holy cause : to work unstintingly, unhestatingly and fearlessly for the equality of all our people in this continent for the universality of man's rights everywhere on this globe.

Yours is the responsibility to be ever on the alert for truth and to use it without fear or favour in the noble task of forwarding total independence in Africa.

You, by your calling, have the responsibility to work unceasingly for the unity of Africa, the single means by which we can promote the prosperity of this continent and defend it against the machinations of our enemies. By reason of your chosen work you men and women of the press are in that most vital of positions where you can persuade men's minds, inform their opinions and point the way to go. Unless you use it for good, you betray your calling, you mislead those who look to you for truth, who expect from you an interpretation of that truth in their cause.

AAJA SUPPORT AN INVALUABLE COMFORT

message from Cambodia

In reply to the world wide dissemintaed 4 POINT APPEAL of the AAJA, which inter-alia calls for solidarity with our Cambodian colleagues in their just struggle for peace and neutrality, the AAJA received messages of appreciation from Chang Seng, President of the Press Association of Cambodia. The message reads as follows .

"Complying to your appeal to all the members of the AAJA that they should protest vigorously against the new aggression of which Cambodia has become victim and in comfirmity with the Djakarta Declaration, we have the honour to inform you on behalf of the Press Association of Cambodia and of the people of Khmer, to convey to all members of your Association our warmest and sincerest thanks.

"Facing the new imperialist crime against Cambodia the support rendered to us by the Afro-Asian Journalists is for us an invaluable comfort and a courageous action of justice and equity.

One also notes that Afro-Asian Solidarity is a living reality and that thanks to this close solidarity, together we will conquer all obstacles raised by the imperialists and neo-colonialists on our common road of peace and progress."

The Embassy in Djakarta, on behalf of the Royal Government of Cambodia, in a letter says. "We have been deeply moved by the Association's mark of sympathy, and on my own behalf, I have the honour to express to you and to the Afro-Asian Journalists Association as a whole our sincere thanks for the protests in favour of Cambodia and for its valuable support for the defence of Cambodia's territorial intergrity."

FASCIST OPPRESSION of S. KOREAN JOURNALISTS

Kang Sang Wi

The bloody struggle of the South Korean youth and students and people for overthrowing the puppet regime of Pak Jung Hi, stooge of U.S. imperialism, and saving the destiny of the fatherland and nation, is now sweeping the whole of South Korea like an angry wave and making the enemy tremble on the brink of ruin.

Thrown into a state of complete discomfiture by the raging flames of resistance, the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique have already proclaimed stringent "martial law" in the Seoul area and are arresting and detaining at random not only patriotic youths and students and people who took part in demonstrations but also politicians, professors and men of the press.

Particularly, the closing down of newspapers, the public institutions of the society, and the suppression of journalists and editors, the spokesmen of public opinion, are becoming more and more rampant hour by hour.

According to foreign press reports from Seoul, on the fourth, the Pak Jung Hi puppet military-police arrested and imprisoned groundlessly Li Joon Koo, publisher of *"Kyunghyang Shinmoon"*, Sun Woo Hi, director of the editorial bureau of *"Chosun Ilbo"*, Nam Chai Hi, Vice-Director of the Political Department of the paper and Li Jong Eyool, commentator of *"Donga Ilbo"*.

On the same day, three reporters of *Donga Ilbo"* and two cameramen of *"Kyunghyang Shinmoon"* were also nabbed for no reason.

On the night of the third when martial law was proclaimed, according to reports, 20 reporters and editors were persecuted by the puppet police of Pak Jung Hi on the charge of "biased report". Furthermore, at dawn on the sixth, eight puppet armymen of Pak Jung Hi broke into the *"Donga Ilbo"* office without previous notice and demanded the reporter on duty to tell the name of the journalist who covered the intrusion of a court by armed soldiers on May 21 and, when the reporter refused, tortured and heavily wounded him by beating him on the head with a revolver.

The puppet police which had already arrested and imprisoned 7 journalists of the Foreign Report Department of the paper arrested an editor of the same department.

After the proclamation of martial law, the newspapers, news reels and other cinema films and television films in Seoul were placed under strict censorship by the puppet army authorities and taboo is put on news items, photographs and cartoons on the demonstration of youths and students. As foreign press reports say, the newspapers published in Seoul are full of unseemly blanks and blotted lines.

Is there such shameful record in the newspaper history of any other country of the world? Untold barbarities are, indeed, committed against the speech and the press in South Karea today.

This harsh measure taken by the Pak Jung Hi clique against the press activities is the continuation and acme of the fascist outrages perpetrated systematically by them for fear of the exposure of their crimes before the world.

The Pak Jung Hi clique resorted to the same oppression against the reporters who were covering the demostrations launched by youths and students in March against the treacherous South Korean-Japan talks.

At that time the puppet police committed group violence against a reporter of *"Hankook Ilbo"* and a cameraman of *"Tonga Ilbo"* inflicting fatal wounds upon them and took away a camera.

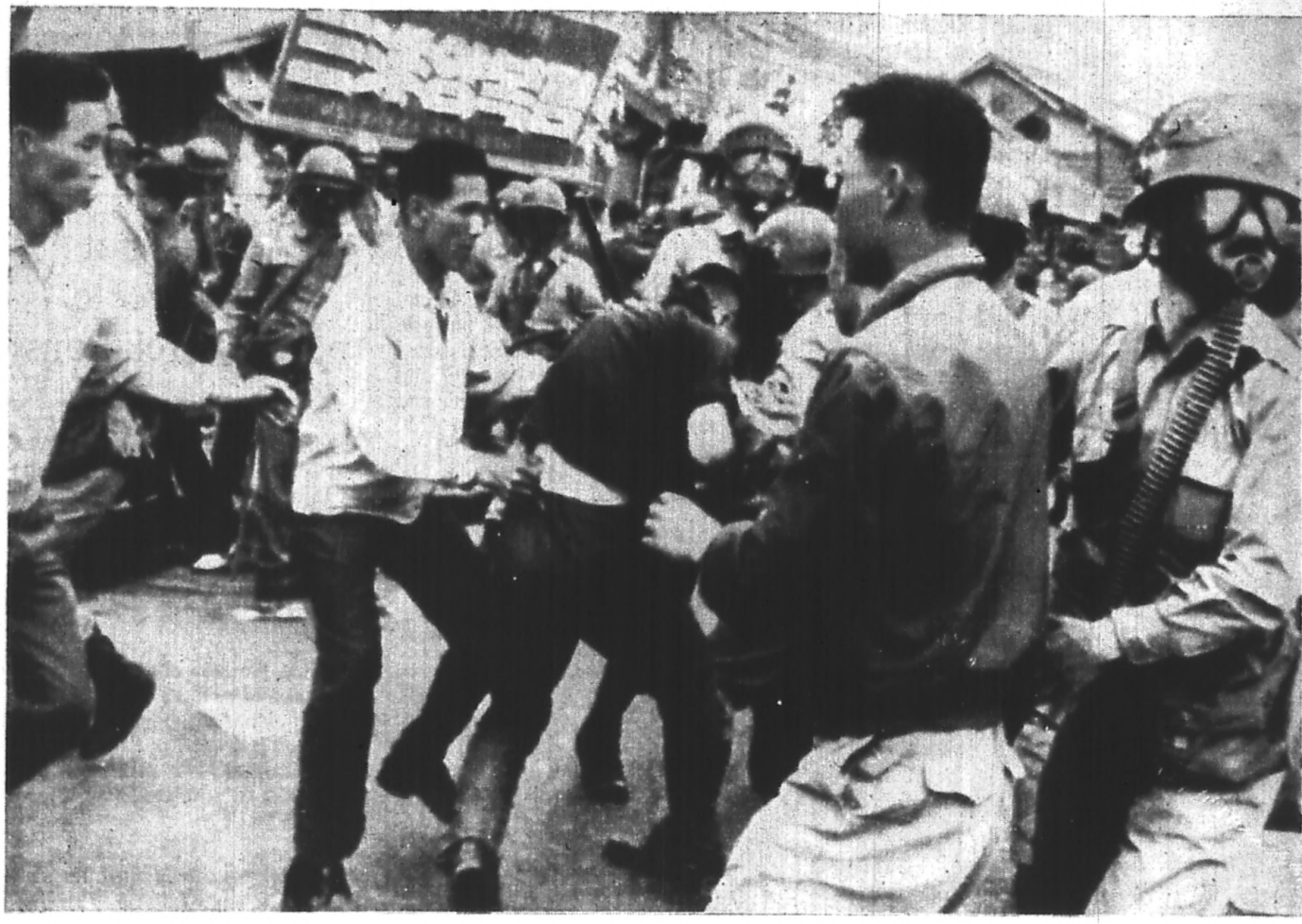
How many pressmen have the Pak Jung Hi clique executed or put to capital punishment and how many publications have they closed down since they seized power with bayonets?

It is impossible to enumerate them all.

The Pak Jung Hi clique are now placing such outrageous, medieval gags on the press in order to force the South Korean journalists and editors to shut their eyes to the courageous and patriotic struggle of the South Korean youths and students and people and to the death-bed struggle of the traitorous clique before their imminent doom, force them to give up national conscience and describe justice as evil.

It goes without saying that the thrice-cursed barbarities of the Pak Jung Hi clique are being perpetrated under the direct wirepulling of U.S. imperialism.

Seeing that their bastion of malicious reaction is shaking to the foundation due to the daily mounting anti-U.S., anti-government struggle of the youths and students and people, the Pak Jung Hi clique in the grips of extreme uneasiness



proclaimed martial law on the third after having closed-door talks with U.S. Ambassador Berger and U.S. Commander in South Korea Howze and, later, closed down all the schools and banned all meetings and demonstrations and they are running wild in harsh suppression of speech and the press.

Seoul flooded with heavily armed puppet soldiers and covered with forests of bayonets is under the sway of lawlessness and frenzied suppression and the press circles are heavily weighed down by darkness and suffocation.

How can we men of the press, the builders of public opinion and monitors of the society, look on with folded arms at this grave situation? We pressmen have pens stronger than the bayonets of the oppressors and we have national conscience and the feeling of love for the fatherland. No outrage can deprive the pressmen of the right to their freedom of report.

South Korean journalists and editors! Don't you hear the agonising cries of the youth and students and people and the groan of the detained colleagues and fellow countrymen?

The national salvation struggle of the South Korean youth and students against the country-selling, treacherous acts of the Pak Jung Hi clique, lackey of U.S. imperialism and faithful servitor of Japanese imperialism, is an eruption of their pent-up resentment at the traitors and has now entered a decisive stage of overthrowing the very puppet dictatorial regime.

Rise up, holding high the pen of justice, to win the freedom of the press activities, and make known to the whole world the patriotic loyalty of the vigorous young fighters and the crimes committed by the doomed Pak Jung Hi clique.

The valorous struggle of the South Korean youth and students to topple the Pak Jung Hi treacherous regime and win the right to existence and democratic freedom, reject the outside forces and defend the honour of the nation is a courageous, patriotic fight related with the future destiny of the nation.

Fight courageously for overthrowing the Pak Jung Hi hordes and make the US imperialist aggressive army, their commander, withdraw from South Korea and for realising North-South collaboration and national selfdependent unification.

Now is a vital moment for the South Korean pressmen to rise up together with the patriotic youth and students in the resolute struggle for the future of the nation and the freedom of the speech. The entire South Korean pressmen should stand up resolutely and wield their sharp pen in backing and encouraging the national salvation struggle of the youth and the students for overthrowing the treacherous Pak Jung Hi regime.

The Central Committee of the Korean Journalists' Union, together with the entire pressmen in the northern half of the Republic, expresses burning indignation at the ruthless oppression by the US imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi blackguards against the South Korean press circles and extends active support and encouragement to your struggle to win fredom of the press and tide over the crucial situation of the country.

We strongly demand that the US imperialist and the Pak Jung Hi clique stop immediately their fascist oppression of the S. Korean press and release the arrested and detained journalists forthwith.

We are of the conviction that the progressive journalists the world over who love freedom and truth will voice positive solidarity with the just struggle of the pressmen of North and South Korea.

All the pressmen of North and South Korea, let's fight more stubbornly by merging our united strength into the patriotic struggle of the youth and students and people to save the country and nation from ruin by opposing and rejecting the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism and the fascist terror rule of the Pak Jung Hi outfit.

A puppet policeman arresting a student in a demonstration after heavily wounding him.

A.A.J.A. PROTEST!

Arrests not condusive te peaceful relations

The Secretariat of the AAJA has sent a telegram to the Ministry of Information of the South Korean Government, protesting against the arbitrary arrests of the editorial staff of the newspaper Kyunghyang Shinmoon on trumped up charges of violating the "anti-Communist Law". In effect the telegram points out that the sole charge is the publication of a letter from a South Korean labourer, begging the Pak Jung Hi regime to "receive and ration out the two million suk of polished rice offered by North Korea".

The telegram reads in full :

The Secretariat of the AAJA protests against the arbitrary arrests of the editorial staff of the Kyunghyang Shinmoon — among them Messrs. Min Zai Zung, Choi-Chi-Keun, on charges under the "anti-Communist Law". We assert that the sole "charge" is the publication of a letter from a South Korean worker begging you to receive and ration out the two-million suk of polished rice offered by North Korea.

These arrests are a violation of press freedom and an unwarranted attempt to silence South Korean journalists to print the Truth. Your action is not condusive to an atmosphere to bring about closer peaceful relations between the North and Southern parts of Korea, and as such reveals your complete subservience to the USA Imperialists, whom we all know are the most rabid protanganists of abnormal relations between South and North Korea. We call on you — to immediately release the staff of Kyunghyang and respect the very few remaining press rights that the South Korean journalists are forced to work under.

THE TWO FACES OF KOREA

Pyongyang

Eleven years have passed since the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement on July 27, 1953. In this period North Korea has steadily advanced along the road of independent development ; South Korea has sunken deep into the abyss of dependence. North Korea restored rapidly the war-ravaged economy and built the firm foundation of an independent national economy in the revolutionary spirit of selfreliance.

The share of machine-building industry, the core of heavy industry, in the total industrial output value went up from 1.6 per cent in 1944 under Japanese imperialist rule to 24.5 per cent in 1963. And the rate of meeting domestic demands for machines and equipment increased to 93.2 per cent in 1963.

Light industry has also made a rapid progress. In 1963 our textile industry turned out in two days what it produced in 1944. Its output was 165 times that in 1944.

In 1962, the total industrial output of North Korea increased 8.5 times as against the pre-war year 1949 or 10.2 times as against 1944, the year before Japanese surrender. The socialist co-operation of agriculture was completed and now its technical reconstruction is being successfully carried on.

The area under irrigation in 1961 was 7 times that in the pre-liberation years and the irrigation system is being introduced into non-paddy fields. The number of tractors — reaches 0.9. (in terms of 15 h.p.) per 100 hectares of the arable land.

Electricity finds its way into 93.3 per cent of the total farm villages and chemicalisation of agriculture is making steady headway.

All this brought about a rapid increase in agricultural production. The grain output per head of the population reaches 500 kg or more than twice that in the pre-liberation years.

Today the North Korean people have before them the huge tasks of the Seven-Year Plan (1961-1967) which envisages an overall technical reconstruction and the development of the country into an advanced industrial one. These tasks are being successfully fulfilled.

A Suburb in Seoul

South Korea, however, presents quite different a picture.

During the post-war 11 years, the South Korean economy has gone totally bankrupt.

The heavy industry has been completely ruined, causing a further deformation in the structure of the South Korean industry.

The ratio of South Korea's dependence on imported manufactured goods went up from 86 per cent in 1958 to 95 per cent in 1960. Thus, at present, only 25 per cent of the total factories and enterprises are in operation in South Korea.

Here are figures comparing the per capita output of major industrial products in South Korea during the period from September 1961 to August 1963 with that of North Korea in 1962 — 1 : 13.9 in electric power, 1 :38.7 in steel, 1 :21 in chemical fertilizer and 1 :2.9 in fabrics.

Compared with the pre-liberation days, the arable land and the land sown to crops shrank by 200,000 hectares and 400,000 hectares respectively.

South Korea's agricultural production dropped markedly as against the period of Japanese imperialist rule and is now on the steady decrease.

Even according to the minimized data released by the puppet regime, the grain output in 1962 sharply decreased by 3,900,000 suk (585,000 tons) compared with 1961.

The number of the jobless and semi-jobless in South Korea runs into 7 million and foodless peasant families 1.4 million.

All this is the outcome of the U.S. "aid" to South Korea.

The only way out of the slough of misery lies in driving out the U.S. army from South Korea and realizing the national self-determination and independence and in achieving, on this basis, the country's unification.

THE CASE OF PAUL VERGES

by R.E.

Témoignages
Grand déploiement de forces policières lundi pour arrêter Paul VERGÈS
Une protestation de l'U.F.R.
Notre camarade accepte de faire ses 3 mois si l'assurance lui est donnée que les bandits et les fraudeurs seront jugés
Le riz va augmenter
La presse française et l'affaire VERGES

"We demand, liberty for Paul Verges, imprisonment of all political gangsters and of all defrauders, and call for the acceleration of our struggle, in solidarity with Paul Verges for the democratic right and regard for universal suffrage, and the right for the population to conduct their own affairs in a democramanner", was the ringing demand of the Re-Union Women's National Union in an urgent appeal to the local prefecture. Indeed not only the Women's National Union, but the whole of this island of volcanic origin, have been in a state of political flurry and agitation since the local tribunal, the highest court in Re-Union reversed an earlier decision of 3 years ago of the court of appeals.

What has caused this otherwise quiet island of 335,000, which has been under French domination since 1665, and which is the largest island (969sq miles) of the Mascarene Archipelago, in the Indian Ocean, to erupt into repeated appeals for the release of Paul Verges.

Paul Verges, journalist and leader of the opposition, political director of the paper "Temoignages" (Evidence), has constantly been in the forefront of the struggle in Re-Union, and is widely known for his fearless exposition of corrupt and fraudulent practices in the island. And indeed from September 1957 up to November 1962, a wave of gross fraud and corrupt practices have swept the island, resulting in the shameful falsification of all electoral results — thus directly affecting the progressive socialist opposition and preventing them this year from gaining any seats in the Legislative Council. This is especially significant if we bear in mind that in 1956 the socialists gained in 7 municipalities and obtained 55% of the votes, and 2 of the 3 seats, in the Legislative Council.

Paul Verges, undauntedly exposed these electoral falsifications in articles in "Temoignages" and as a result was arrested by the authorites, three years ago. He won the case in the Magistrates Court, but the prosecution not being satisfied and eager to place Verges at all costs under lock and key, appealed to the higher court against the decision of the lower courts' finding.

Unfortunately, the prosecution won their case on appeal and a fine of 100,000 franc and three months imprisonment was imposed on Verges. Rather than pay this fine or serve his sentence, Verges went underground, and have so far escaped the clutches of the police.

Verges's action is particularly understandable if one takes into account that he was similarly prosecuted unsuccessfully 3 years ago when he wrote an article in support of the Algerian Revolution.

Explaining his reasons for going underground, Verges — in a letter published in Temoignages stated: "I am ready to serve my sentence — if other people who are more guilty than I are brought to book". Verges was illuding to those in high positions, who were the defrauders and organisers of electoral chicanery — the very persons he had mentioned in his various articles.

Paul Verges, who is one of the most popular figures among the masses, follow in the footsteps of his father, who was popularly known by the people as "Papa Verges". A true son of the soil, a true peoples leader, the case of Paul Verges has touched the hearts of all Re-Unions' people. His popularity can be gauged by the successful and triumphal welcome he got when he returned in February 1963 to Re-Union, after being prevented by the authorities to reenter Re-Union.

For reporting the Truth, for exposing the corruptive tendencies of the corrupt bourgeouis politicians Paul Verges has been forced to go underground. Wherever he is on the island (which the police have unsuccessfully searched with a "fine comb") Paul Verges can remain assured that he has the support of the people of Re-Union, and his colleagues in Asia and Africa.

The Caricature

THE CARICATURE IN JOURNALISM

by Sibarani

The employment of THE CARICATURE IN JOURNALISM is a very old form of effectively highlighting or dissecting on ridiculing any topical issue. Its effectiveness is so tremendous, its worth so great, and its destructiveness so hugh if employed malignantly, that it is a form of expression in journalism that we must know more about. Sibarani, famous Indonesian caricaturist sets out with illustrations (unfortunately because of space we cannot publish all the caricatures he used as illustrations) his ideas on the Role of the Caricature in Journalism.

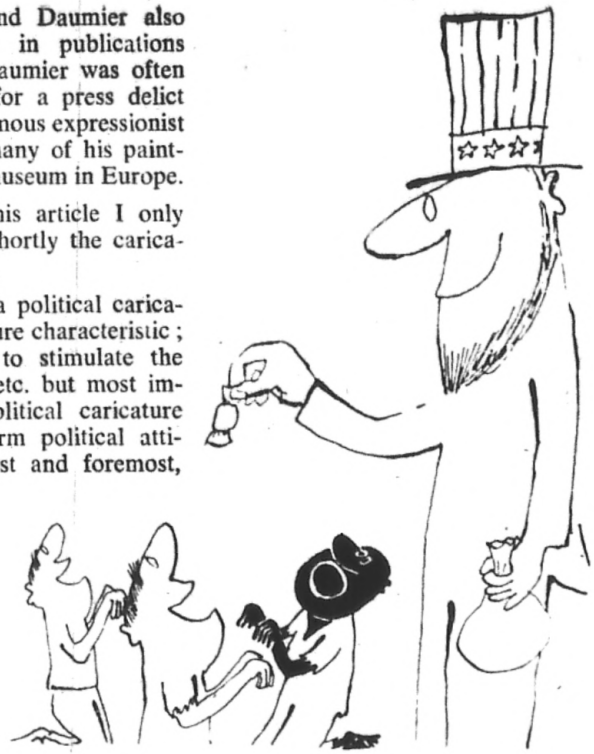
„Sine" Tshobe at eye specialist in Paris

A political caricature usually contains humor. This humor is sometimes sarcastically, satirically, cynically funny, because the caricature lines exaggerate the expressions and are mixed with a certain style characteristic of each caricaturist and giving him a sort of "mark" or "identity" as well as individuality. It is said that you can easily see the difference between a caricature by David Low for instance and that of a certain Herblock in America, a caricature of Steinberg or Ben Shan from America can be easily be distinguished from a caricature of a certain Mittelberg from France or a Bidstrup from Sweden, caricatures of Dietrich in the Democratic Republic of Germany can easily be distinguished from those of Brochman from the Federal Republic of Germany and caricatures of Abramowa from Moscow or of a group of caricaturist from Russia, the Kulriniks can easily be distinguished from the caricatures of Jing Tan or Ke Ming from China. However, there are among the caricatures in the world also some which influence the style of other caricatures, a caricaturist like Nuez from Cuba is clearly much influenced by Steinberg's style.

This characteristic style and the caricature element in political caricature gives a stronger political stimulus which is more attractive and has a better psychological effect on the readers of newspapers and on caricature lovers. A characteristic style as shown by a caricaturist like Sine with his funny lines, though seemingly very simple, is characteristic of a man like Sine only. The caricature characteristic should not be neglected when we really draw a caricature and not an illustration or a poster. This caricature characteristic must be there naturally when we speak of caricatures. Actually caricature is not only found in the world of the press, but also in the world of painting. In the world of painting where the painters are carried away by an overflowing stream of expression and are tinted with a bit of humor, along with exaggerated characteristic, their works contain this caricature element, and their paintings are called caricature paintings. Great painters in history who were also called careaturists were: Da Vinci, Caracci, Holbein, Jan Steen, Goya, Daumier and Toulouse Lautrec, James Ensor, etc. From these painters Goya and Daumier also drew caricatures in publications and the press. Daumier was often put into prison for a press delict besides being a famous expressionist in France, and many of his paintings hang in the museum in Europe.

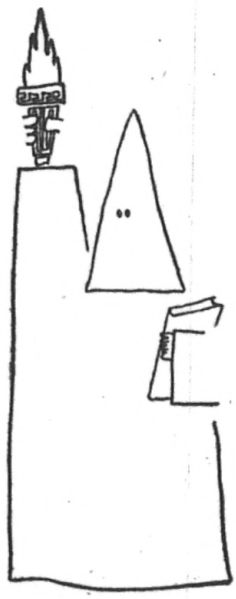
However, in this article I only want to discuss shortly the caricature in the press.

As I just said a political caricature has a caricature characteristic; it has a power to stimulate the sense of humor, etc. but most important is: a political caricature should have a firm political attitude. This is first and foremost,



Yankee No. Nuez (Cuban), after Steinberg's Style.

and it is because of this firm, solid and exact political attitude that a political caricature can become a very strong political weapon. A political caricature should not just make us laugh, neither is it to ridicule another nation, abuse that nation or to laugh at its physical



characteristics which we think strange or which could be a source of inspiration.

Political caricature is a political weapon. And this political weapon is not aimed at ridiculing another nation, it is meant to disclose and unmask political attitudes and manipulation of political leaders which are against our opinion and against humanity and which contradict with the justice we are struggling for. What we disclose are not the physical characteristics of the leaders of the countries concerned, but what we turn over are the practices of base political manipulations to be enforced and thrust upon us.

A BIT OF HISTORY.

For centuries feudalism and capitalism have inspired caricaturists, political caricatures were published by the expressionist, Francisco Goya against the Spanish monarchy clique in the 18th century; a German painter, Gotfried Schadow once produced caricatures on the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte, and a famous expressionist, Honore Daumier already made his carrier as a caricaturist in a political magazine "La Caricatura" in the year 1831, during the reign of King Louis Philippe of whom was then said ..... "the unterrified garmin, turning his heavy artilery on the Orleans politicians ....." and further ..... "and each week, when his cartoon appeared, Ministers of State shake in their boots .....".

San Thio (Indonesian)
Bat : Let us attack Indonesia
Tunku : Ssst? Ask permission first

Since long political caricature has been considered a heavy weapon, and the history of the growth of the press in several countries are from period to period connected with the important role of this caricature.

A fierce struggle of political caricature has been violently fought in the capitalist country of America in the 19th century where caricaturists incessantly launched attacks towards the then rotten government system. The 19th century in America which American capitalists called "America's Great Age of Enterprise," the age of "industrial expansion and exploitation," but which caricaturists also called ..... "Age of Aggressiveness and unbridled Acquisitiveness, of Coarseness and Vulgarity, when concern of the traditional principles of public and private morality had been supplanted by worship of Mammon ....."

In the 19th century in America, "the Age of Enterprise", also called "The American Gilded Age", the "Business Leaders" raised to heroic statures, as giants ruling the state enterprises, ruling its property and polity. These business leaders finally became the political leaders of America. They in fact ruled the American policy with the power of wealth, e.g. Andrew Carnegie with his steel industry, Rockefeller the oil king, Philip Armour, the boldness and the enormity of their accomplishments of the continental natural riches, the constructions of an immense national production plant, and the creation of an unheard-of wealth, raised them to heroic stature. But to the critics of the Gilded Age they were simply Robber Barons, whose arts were those of the rapacious, tho' often romantic highwayman ..... And the critics argued cogently that to admire the Robber Barons was not only to condone trickery, cruelty and frequently robbery, but also to applaud men whose very fortunes proved them most adept at these practices ....."

Among the American caricaturists who sharpened their pens to

The Lords of Industry or Robber Barons —by Art Young

king of meatproducts, Pierpont Morgan the king of fortune, and Hill, Stanford and Harriman who ruled the railroads and were then the vein of the United States, as the Kennedys', Johnsons and Fullbrights now are.

They were called the "Lords of Industry" and it was to oppose them and as a consequence the situation of "Coarseness and Vulgarity" that critics and caricaturists climbed into their pens. Thus the struggle to unmask capitalism has been violently fought since then, we are only continuing it.

In a book written by an American, R.D. Heffner (A documentary History of the United States) is told how expert American critics themselves see the capitalistic political situation : "To these lords of industry and their admirers, the crush Robber Barons from the American capitalist world, were e.g. Edward Jump, called Jump, "who turns panic into comedy", because he made the theme of the San Francisco earthquake the object of caricature. In his caricature "Earth Quakey Times" he showed how American capitalists were destroyed by the San Francisco earthquake, a satire that hit the target.

To the list of caricaturists we add well-known names like Art Young, Frank Beard, Charles Green Bush, Gernard Gillam, Davenport and the most "well-known" was Thomas Nast, called "The Big Gun of the Republican Party", who pictured Andrew Johnson as the "would-be King, aiming at absolute power", as a "drunken sot", as a "Roman Tyrant" and who helped rolling up a gang of

Harry Reade
(Australia)

corruptors "Tammany Ring", for which he gained the nickname: "a blacksmith ..... forging a weapon that was one of the big guns of his party for more than twenty years ....."

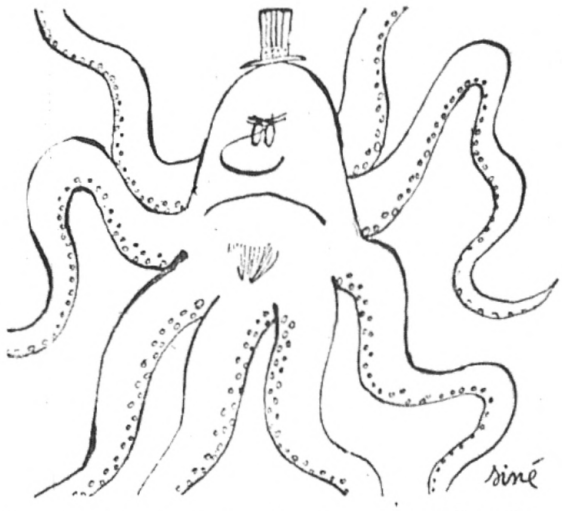
Of whom is also said that prominent political leaders always try to moderate him ..... "and when he went to Washington he dined at the White House and was entertained by the leaders of both houses of Congress, by Cabinet Ministers and justices of the Supreme Court".

About the caricature of Art Young can be said that he was very fierce for years in the beginning of the twentieth century, he even became a member of the editorial Board when the communist magazine "The Daily Worker" was published in America, together with other caricaturists like Robert Minor, Brecker, Gropper, Ellis, Suwanto (an Indonesian) and others.

The caricaturist Davenport became famous for his caricature: "They rave, they rant, they waddle around the land ....." showing how the capitalist politicians caused disorder and interfered in the government.

Sine :

Uncle Sam Suggests he rules the Waves



American magazines and dailies which were the battlefields of violent caricaturists are among others "Budget of Fun", "Jolly Joker", "Comic Monthly", "Phunny Phellow", "Harpers Weekly", "Puck", etc.

CARICATURE HAS SINCE LONG BEEN ANTI-IMPERIALIST.

The caricature magazine "Punch" is an old magazine in England, still published nowadays and loved by the British; it is among others said to be that arch Imperialist Churchill's favourite magazine. The first caricaturist in England was 'William Newman" who published his first caricature in London in 1814 in the magazine "Punch".

At that time already did Newman adopt a cynical attitude towards the American and British powers at sea as imperialist countries desiring to rule the world and in 1865 a caricature appeared under the heading "Uncle Sam suggests he rules the waves", to it was added the text: "John Bull retiring from business".

Who knows if some body here is in a need of a qualified Cowboy.

Behrendt (Dutch)

published in US. News

& World Report

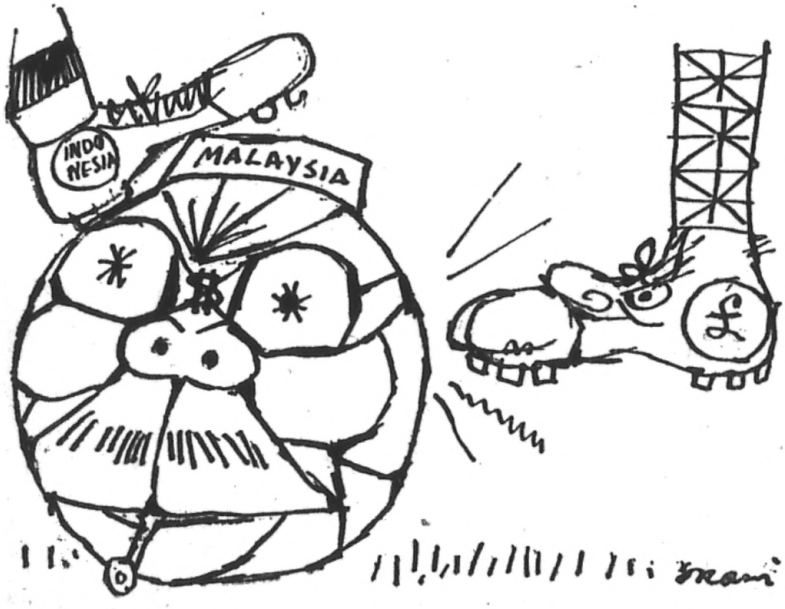
These gentlemen want co-operation otherwise they turn to the Communist

This history of caricature shows us that caricatures on the American imperialist policy are nothing new, neither are they the products of communist as is so often said. Several ages ago, before Marx or Lenin were born, a William Newman already criticised the imperialist policy of America.

Thus by following the growth of the art of caricature in the past, we get an idea of man's way of thinking ages ago and of his sense of humor growing in his mind beside his political stand born in that period in accordance with the constellation of politics and society combined with the artistic powers and journalistic zeal in journalism.

The name David Low is no longer a strange name. He died recently. And we cannot help thinking of his merits during the last world war. He said that the British respect Low as they respect Churchill. During the second world war, when Hilter still ruled the greater part of Europe, the caricaturist Low was not only a "political observer" as shown in his caricatures shortly before he died ; in his caricatures he did not oppose imperialism, probably because his country was involved in imperialism, neither was he a humorist who only saw the humourous aspects in the political steps taken by politicians nowadays, as do most Western caricaturists, he was a firm anti-fascist, sought by Hitler's Gestapo and a thorn in Hitler's eye.

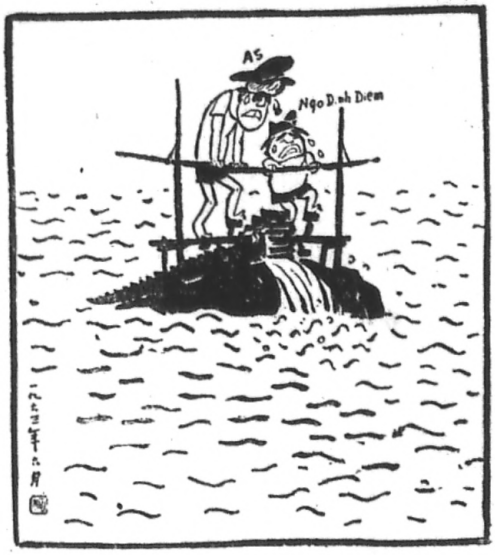
Opinions have developed nowadays and differ from those in which fascists still ruled and were powerful in several parts of the world, many anti-fascists became pro-imperialists there are even more blamable indications that those who were at the beginning anti-imperialists, show no sympathy with the struggles of the A-A nations who wanted to free themselves from the shackles of all sorts of colonialism and against modern neo-colonialism.



When we pay attention to Low's caricatures drawn shortly before his death, we see that his caricatures only show the comic and humorous aspects of political developments lacking a firm opinion which definitely defends or blames, and it is this attitude which is followed by many Western caricaturists nowadays. This opinion was adopted in the West because for them the struggle is over and the struggles and revolutions in Asia, Africa or other continents not only are of no interest to them, they probably consider these struggles and revolutions as spears pointed at them. And when a caricature is powerless, impotent, with no firm stand, it may even become reactionary, ridiculing the struggle and revolution of AA nations and such caricatures are certainly the products of unhealthy minds in line with the lowest spirit of the imperialists colonialist puppets.

Below is an example of a reactionary caricature, a drawing created by sommone who is still living in the age of white adventurers, who consider coloured people barbarians who can easily be pleased with a mirror and chocolate and are afterwards colonized and rules ..... "so that they will not fall in the hands of the communists ... !"

When we draw caricatures on America or England, we criticise their system and government as well as their practices, we do not ridicule their people or their nationality. We still respect the Ame-



Ke Ming (China)

rican nation and people and any nation in the world. It is clear, however, that the followers of imperialism do not respect our nation, they ridicule and insult, they ridicule not only the struggle of the AA peoples and of other nations, but they also ridicule and insult these nations as nations and as human beings. This is "Humanity" according to the concepts of modern colonialism.

It would be worse if in our nation where we live as one family and one nation groups would be found to agree with this kind of humanity.

ANTI-IMPERIALISM CARICATURES AND SOLIDARITY BETWEEN A-A AND LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES AND THE NEW EMERGING FORCES :

Not so long ago an International caricature exhibition was held in Havana, Cuba, where among others caricatures from Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Germany were shown and which was visited by caricaturists of "Eulenspiegel", Dem. Rep. of Germany, Richard Falbr from Prague and caricaturists from Havana as Rene de la Nuez, Roman, Wilson, etc.

This kind of caricature exhibition which has an international character and is aimed at unmasking capitalism, colonialism and modern colonialism and to consolidate unity and solidarity between the AA and Latin American peoples and the peoples of the new emerging forces, can, I think, be called a unique event in the history of the growth of caricature and press in the world. We hope that such an exhibition as held in Havana will be further developed, so that it will not have the character of an agreement or a joint effort of just a few countries, but that it will be more extensive and will become a union of all the progressive caricaturists of the world, starting with a joint exhibition of AA nations or new emerging nations.

The role of caricature in the press has been and is very important from generation to generation, for ages, ever since the rise of imperialism and capitalism, even since former feudal kings, until the age of fascism before and during the Second World War up to the age of the awakening of the AA and other peoples, in this age of anti-colonialism ; caricature has been and is a weapon of humor which power to struggle guides and forms the opinion of the world in opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

New Judge-S. Africa

Stephan (Cyech).

AFRO-ASIAN EVENTS, DOCUMENTS-REPORTS

* Second Asian Economic Seminar held in Pyongyang.
* Afro-Asian Islamic Conference held in Djakarta, 6th — 13th June.

DOCUMENT & REPORT 1

DECLARATION OF THE ASIAN ECONOMIC SEMINAR

The Asian Economic Seminar was held from June sixteen to twen hree, nineteen sixty-four, in Pyong Yang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Conference was attended by delegates and friends from thirty-four countries and territories — Algeria, Angola, Australia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Cameroon, Ceylon, China, the Congo (Brazzaville), the Congo (Leopoldville), Gambia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Korea, Mali, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, North Kalimantan, Palestine, Rwanda, Somalia, South West Africa, the Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, South Vietnam, and Zanzibar.

In accordance with and proceeding from the age-old aspiration and common desire of the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries for winning National Liberation and building free, prosperous and independent states, opposing imperialism and colonialism, we the participants of this Seminar declare :

Today the furious storm of the anti-imperialist, national liberation revolution is sweeping the vast region of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The National-Liberation Movement in colonies, a mighty revolutionary force of our time, is accelerating the final rout of imperialism and making a great contribution to the common cause of the world people for peace and social progress.

Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have undergone radical changes today. In these regions a number of socialist countries and newborn independent peoples in many countries who have won national independence through protracted, arduous and heroic struggles are attaining enormous results in building a new life.

However, the colonial system has not been liquidated completely.

The imperialists are unwilling to step out of the colonial and dependent countries. They are trying to impose the yoke of neo-colonialism upon the peoples of the peoples of the new-born independent countries.

The nature of imperialism has not changed and its aggressive methods are becoming more and more vicious.

The imperialists, the U.S imperialists in particular, are working hard to subjugate the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America by all crafty means along with undisguised aggression.

While intensifying their political and military control, the imperialists are using "aid" as a major instrument for their aggression against the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Through "aid" they attempt to seize the economic life-lines of the countries in these regions, plunder a fabulous amount of wealth and, furthermore, ecroach upon their political independence. This is typical form of neo-colonialism. We must be strictly vigilant against the imperialist and neo-colonialists using the unite nations and other international institutions for this purpose. It is an act of hampering the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle and arresting the nations have emerged, and the great advance of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to spread an illusion about imperialism and induce them to pin their hopes on its "benevolence".

A number of Asian, African and Latin American countries which have reached a new stage in the development of their history are now faced with the task of fighting resolutely against old and new colonialism and building and independent nation economy by relying on their own efforts.

The achievement of political independence is only the first step towards the ultimat victory of the National-Liberation Revolution.

The independent economic construction consititutes a firm guarantee for the consolidation of the political independence these countries have already won.

This enables these countries to do away the economic one-sideness and backwardness left over with the imperialist colonial rule and become rich, powerful independent state by modern sciences, technology and culture.

The building of an independent national economy is, in the final analysis, an act of placing the economically backward nations within the old framework of one-sided colonial economy and of hampering the independent states from achieving independent development and prosperity.

Because of the socio-economic conditions left over by the imperialist, colonial rule, it presents itself as an important question in independent economic construction for the newly-independent nations to oppose imperialism and transform the capitalist production relations into democratic ones in conformity with the concrete conditions of each country.

A correct solution of the land problem in these countries opens the way solving the urgent problem of food and developing the rural economy in a diversified way and opens a new way for economic development.

In order to achieve economic independence of the country the economic foothold of the imperialists and comprador capitalists who are in league with the former must be fortfeited. Only when their enterprises are nationalized so as to make them serve the interests of the whole nation, is it possible to develop the national economy rapidly.

For the independent economic construction it is indispensable to take the path of industrialization, develop national culture and train one's own national technical cadres.

The countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are endowed with inexhaustible natural resources, and are inhabited by two thirds of the world's population. The peoples of the countries in these regions are industrious and talented.

In building independent economy, each country should rely first of all on the inexhaustible creative energy of its own people and should mobilize and utilize its own latent reserves to the maximum.

If we mobilize these material and human resources properly, we can overcome all difficulties and accomplish creditably the historic task of building and independent national economy.

Since the concrete conditions of economic development in the Asian, African and Latin American countries are varied, there may arise certain differences in the lines and ways of building an independent national economy in each country.

Each country should solve by itself all problems of independent economic construction in conformity with its actual situation.

Independent national economy has nothing to do either with "closed economy" or "isolated economy".

The construction of an independent national economy by relying on one's own efforts does not exclude economic co-operation among nations, but rather it promotes their mutual support and co-operation.

Only when we build an independent national economy, can we also develop the relations of co-operation with other countries on a sound basis and, when given genuine aid from outside, use it effectively.

It is against the principles of economic co-operation that one stresses the "genuine co-operation" or "aid" by words alone but in fact uses it as a means of imposing the erroneous policy or as a bait for realizing its unilateral, narrow-minded economic interests.

Economic co-operation and mutual assistance must be based on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit, respect for sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and they must be effective technically and economically.

The peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries should closely co-operate and assist each other, frustrating the machinations of imperialism to hamper the development of trade relations between their countries.

The socialist countries in these regions have accumulated certain experiences in and laid the foundations for the construction of a new society and an independent national economy. And many countries have registered valuable achievements in the struggle for the independent development of their countries since they won political independence.

The countries in these regions are endowed with rich natural resources and favourable natural and economic conditions. Exchanging useful experiences, strengthening economic co-operation, and filling each other's needs will greatly conduce to the building of an independent economy and enable us to counter imperialist aggression successfully. Economic relations between the new-born independent countries, we consider, should be developed and extended through various forms and methods such as the conclusion of long-term trade agreements, introduction of reciprocal terms of trade, the stabilisation of the prices of export goods, establishment of preferential tariff, extension of scientific and technical intercourse, etc.

The people of Asian, African and Latin American countries will further consolidate their mutual co-operation, and solidarity, repulsing the splitting and subversive machinations of imperialism and colonialism.

The present conference calls upon the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries to further intensify their struggle to accomplish the revolutionary task of frustrating the policy of aggression and enslavement of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism and achieving social progress, unite more closely and hold high the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and national liberation.

DOCUMENT II

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE PREPARATORY AFRICAN ASIAN ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

The preparatory African-Asian Islamic Conference held at Djakarta from the sixth to the fourteenth of June, 1964, i.e. from 26 Muharram to 4 Safar 1384 A.H., unanimously passed the following resolutions :

RESOLUTION NO. 1

Resolved that the following will be the guiding principles and objectives of the African-Asian Islamic Conference, herein after referred to as A.A.I.C.

1. To promote cooperation and solidarity among the Muslim communities in Africa and Asia on a more positive and constructive scale in accordance with the Bandung spirit and based on the teachings of Islam.

2. To foster and support the struggle of Muslim peoples for self-determination wherever necessary and to help build a world free from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all forms and manifestations.

3. To direct the Muslim communities of the world towards peace, progress and social justice according to the teachings of Islam, as opposed to reaction and passivity.

4. To coordinate and consolidate Islamic missionary, educational and cultural activities all over the world.

5. To promote the study of the Arabic language among Muslims.

6. To promote and strengthen among the Muslim States of Africa and Asia the true Islamic attitude of justice, toleration and protection towards national minorities adhering to other faiths.

7. To promote good relations with non-Muslim states which grant equal rights to their Muslim minorities both in theory and practice.

8. To work for and safeguard, wherever necessary, the rights of Muslim minorities and to secure protection for them in conformity with the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

Resolved that the Provisional Agenda of the A.A.I.C. will be as follows :

1. Expression of views on the international situation in general and the situation in Africa and Asia in particular, from the standpoint of the guiding principles and objectives of the A.A.I.C.

2. Position of Muslim states in Africa and Asia and their role in the achievement of a new and peaceful world free from imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism in all forms and manifestations.

3. Protection of Muslim minorities, wherever necessary, against (1) discrimination and deprivation of human rights (2) eviction from their homelands on religious and/or political grounds and (3) genocide. Also, support for their rights of self-determination wherever necessary.

4. Cooperation of Muslims in the promotion of the solidarity of African-Asian peoples according to the teachings of Islam.

5. Coordination of the efforts of African and Asian Muslims in the religious, economic, social, cultural and other fields.

6. Establishment of an Islamic Information Bureau.

7. Initiation of cultural exchange programs, award of interstates scholarships, fellowships and grants for furtherance of Islamic studies in African and Asian countries.

8. Strengthening of Islamic missionary activities by means of coordinated efforts.

9. Consideration of grants of permanent status to A.A.I.C. and establishment of a permanent secretary so that Muslims of Africa and Asia develop cooperation in accordance with the spirit of Islam, and, if necessary formation of specified sub-organizations in particular fields such as youth movements, women's organizations, social welfare work.

RESOLUTION NO. 3

Resolved that for organization of the Main Conference of the A.A.I.C. the following committees be set up :

1. *Organizing Committee :*

The Organizing Committee will consist of all sponsoring countries represented at the Preparatory Conference namely Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, United Arab Republic and the invited countries which, notwithstanding their absence, have or will have expressed agreement with the guiding principles and objectives of the Conference.

The headquarters of the Organizing Committee will be in Indonesia, preferably at Bandung. The Organizing Committee will elect one Chairman, four Vice Chairman, two each from Africa-Asia, and one Secretary-General from among the members.

2. *Executive Coommittee*

(a) The Executive Committee will consist of the Secretary General of the Organizing Committee and two Assistant Secretaries General to be elected by the Organizing Committee.

The Executive Committee will carry out the day-to-day work of the Organizing Committee.

(b) The Executive Committee may, with the purpose of carrying on A.A.I.C. publicity and with a view to organizing the conference, appoint representatives in any country it may deem fit and expedient.

RESOLUTION NO. 4

Resolved further that :

I. The first A.A.I.C. will be held in Indonesia preferably at Bandung and subsequent conferences will be held at places to be decided upon by the conference each time.

II. *Time of the Conference.*

The first A.A.I.C. will be held around the 17th of Desember 1964, i.e. the 13th Sha'ban 1384.

III. *Finances of the Conference.*

The A.A.I.C. will be financed by appropriate contributions from all participating countries. As far as possible each delegation will bear its own travelling expenses.

IV. *Participants.*

Participants will be devided into two categories : delegates and observers.

Delegates will consist of the following :

Representatives of all Muslim communities from countries which will be invited to the second African Asian Conference, as per decision of the meeting of ministers in preparation of the second African Asian Conference in April 1964. (Reference Clause V of their final communique).

Observers will consist of the following :

(a) Representatives of Muslim Organizations outside Africa and Asia ;

(b) Representatives of Muslim Universities/Research Institutions having departments/sections in Islamic Studies.

Provided that the delegates and observers are in agreement with the guiding principles and objectives of the A.A.I.C.

Malaysia

Continued from page 30

On the 16th of September 1963, after receiving the blessing of his master, Tunku Abdulrahman announced the formation of the "Federation of Malaysia" and he completely ignored the opposition of the revolutionary parties in Kalimantan Utara, Singapore and Malaya. He even rudely violated his own agreements with Heads of State of Indonesia and the Philippines. Indeed, all Southeast Asian states which are directly involved, oppose "Malaysia" which is dominated by the British. Beginning from Indonesia, China up to the Philippines which politically stands in the rank of the "Free World". Indonesia vehemently opposes the British "Malaysia" because it directly endangers Indonesia's security. As the Cairo paper *Al-Ikisadi* has rightly stated: "Indonesia's opposition against "Malaysia" is only understandable if we notice the structure and the position of the federation on the map. In this context we see that "Malaysia" which has several border lines with Indonesia from many directions, powered with British military bases that endanger Indonesia's security."

Moreover Indonesia opposed the formation of "Malaysia" by the British as the people of Kalimantan Utara themselves opposed "Malaysia". Indonesia can only recognize a Malaysia which is free from imperialist domination, free of British military bases and above all *if it is really accepted by the people concerned. But as it is well known, the people of Kalimantan Utara under the leadership of Premier Azahari on December the 8th 1962 proclaimed their independence. The people of Kalimantan Utara desire to stand on their own feet, they desire to be free, they oppose joining the "Federation of Malaysia"*. For Indonesia this is a matter of principle, and she thus adopts a clear-cut anti-imperialist policy, to support the people of Kalimantan Utara against imperialism so that they can determine their own fate. This is a matter of principle. The attitude and the position of Indonesia towards Kalimantan Utara and towards "Malaysia" is the same as that correct attitude of Tanganyika and other African states who supported Malawi and Zambia in their desire to be free and in their struggle to abolish the "Central African Fereration".

At this moment the heroic people of Kalimantan Utara are waging a fierce armed struggle together with their brothers, the Indonesian volunteers. The British troops in "Malaysia", facing guerilla warfare of the people of Kalimantan Utara, are backed by US imperialism, Australia and New Zealand.

As regards the direct relation between the "Federation of South Arabia" and "Malaysia", it has been openly confirmed by British deputy Minister of Colonial Affairs, Nigel Fisher. In his press statement on June 1st in London, he clearly stated that "the British military base in Aden has special strategic interest for Britain because it is the centre of the movement of British forces to maintain the interest of the Commonwealth countries in general and "Malaysia" in particular". The situation becomes even more fraught with danger for Indonesia especially after the news from London, that British government will reinforce its air bases in "Malaysia" with guided messiles of the "Bloodhound-II" type.

It is obvious that Indonesia is not intimidated in facing the British military forces which menace it. The Indonesian Army consists of people's soldiers who are rich in experience in guerilla warfare, whilst the Indonesian Navy and Air Force have all the military equipments which are able to serve a modern war. Meanwhile "Malaysia" with its Premier Tunku Abdulrahman is ranting everywhere that Indonesia is "expansionist", that Indonesia is practicing "big brother policy" towards its neighbours. These cheap accusations, which have been taught to the Tunku by the British with no other intention than to garner the sympathy of the African states in general and especially the Afro-Asian Commonwealth states. This is an attempt to isolate Indonesia from the revolutionary movement in Africa. Revolutionary Africa has already been acquainted with such cunning imperialist tactics. The President of Guinea, Sekou Toure, in an official statement not so long ago declared his support for Indonesia's policy against "Malaysia", which is a policy committed to support the liberatory struggle of the people of Kalimantan Utara. "Malaysia" who has been sladering Indonesia and attempting to solicit the sympathy of the African states, is the same "Malaysia" who has commercial relations with South Africa directly or indirectly. In "Malaysian" markets and shops we easily find articles from South Africa, from diamonds to canned food, while raw materials from "Malaysia" flow to South Africa. Concerning the situation in Southern Rhodesia where the minority Whites are attempting to proclaim their independence uniterally, Tunku's attitude is only to be 'neutral', he refuses to join the Afro-Asian peoples in their opposition against 'Verwoerdism' in Southern Rhodesia. Such is the double-face policy of "Malaysia" towards Africa.

President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Macapagal of the Philippines have shown their continual goodwill to solve the problem of "Malaysia through negotiation. But all their efforts have been in vain. The reason is that on the one side, Sukarno and Macapagal speak in the A-A spirit. They are determined that A-A problems should be solved by the A-A peoples themselves. Both Heads of State speak on behalf of their people respectively. On the other side, Premier Tunku Abdulrahman speaks and represents for the interest of British colonialism.

This is a quick glimpse at the problem of "Malaysia". Together with the problems of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, it becomes the spark which sets contemporary Southeast Asia on fire.

All of us, freedom figthers of Afro-Asia, have an absolute duty to support the liberation struggle of the people of Kalimantan Utara. In the resolutions adopted by the AAJA as well as by the VIth Council Session of the AAPSO in Algiers, is clearly stated the support for Indonesia's stand in helping the armed struggle of the people of Kalimantan Utara. The Indonesian people together with their journalists who have adopted a clear-cut anti-imperialist policy can have no other stand than to be the loyal executor of these resolutions.

Neo-colonialism must be destroyed, whether its name is the "Central African Federation", the "Federation of South Arabia" or the "Federation of Malaysia".

The people of Kalimantan Utara must and will win! "Malaysia" must be liquidated! All liberation movements have only one perspective-victory! The only alternative for Imperialism is doom!

What Our papers Say

* AL MANAR (Iraq)

Expressed indignation and abhorrence at the cruel verdict of life imprisonment passed on Nelson Mandela and other South African nationalists leaders.

The White minority government in South Africa had committed another hienous crime when it announced these sentences on African leaders fighting for the dignity of the Africans in their homeland.

* EVENING NEWS (Ghana)

The Anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa today has reached a point of where "only an armed struggle can uproot the evil forces of apartheid". The paper made the remark while commenting on the arbitratry sentences passed by the Apartheid Court of South Africa on Nelson Mandela and the other leoders. It was a bogus trial where justice was totally absent, the paper said. For the freedom fighters of South Africa "there is no other alternative than to fight."

* TAMIR (PAKISTAN)

The Soviet Union is a European country and its participation in the Second Afro-Asian Conference would nullify the political solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries. The editorial which appeared on the 11th June, said the Soviet claims that since three fourths of its territory lies in Asia, it should be regarded as an Asian country, was absolutely incorrect politically. If the Soviet Union could participate in this Conference, then on what grounds could other European countries be stopped from joining in, the paper asked. To accept this claim means to destroy the independent platform of the Afro-Asian countries, it added.

* NYANZA TIMES (KENYA)

Neo colonialism, which is manifested very strikingly in the Congo tragedy, was in essence, the same old colonialism. In an article entitled "All Africa will be free" the weekly said, the colonial empire in Africa has fallen to pieces under blows of national liberation struggle. But imperialism did not intend to give up voluntaryly its positions on the African continent, where 50 million peoples were still languishing in chains of colonial slavery. The roots of colonialism had also remained in those countries where colonial regimes had already been abolished, it added. These roots often gave rich shoots to neo colonialism which camouflaged methods of oppression and exploitation of the peoples, applying economic levers on a wide scale.

* NAYA SAMA (NEPAL)

For the maintainance of peace in Laos, the 14 nation Geneva Conference should be reconvened without delay and foreign interference there should be stopped immediately.

The paper continued : the agreements of the 14 nation Geneva Conference had been violated. Similarly the international Commission had failed in its mission.

* LA REVUE DU PEUPLE (DAHOMEY)

The US. Imperialist scheme to create two Chinas is attacked by an article in the latest issue.

It says, more and more people in the world have become aware of the shady character of the imperialists and are demanding everywhere the closing down of the embassies of the Taiwan puppets. The imperialists and their lackeys know that the victory of the Chinese Revolution has weakened their camp and strengthened that of the oppressed peoples and their confidence in their final victory.

* MFANYA KAZI (ZANZIBAR)

Imperialism, especially U.S. Imperialism is the greatest enemy of the workers and peoples the world over. The heroic struggle against imperialism of the oppressed peoples in Africa today, such as in Angola, Mozambique is also that of the Zanzibar people. The Zanzibar Revolution is only one step in our struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. Our task against imperialism and colonialism is not yet fulfilled.

Convene 14 Nation Geneva Conference — AAJA urges

In a statement issued on the 15th, June the Secretariat of the AAJA calls the urgent attention of all its members and other democratic journalists to the grave and deterioriating situation in Laos, which threatens peace and stability in Indo China and SE.A. This grave situation is the direct result of the continuous violations of the 1962 Geneva Agreements by the rightwing elements supported by the US Imperialists, the statement stresses.

The statement continues :

"The latest violations by the US Imperialists is the dispatching of US aircraft and the bombing and straffing of Khang Khay, as well as the "inspectional" flights of US planes, and the direct intervention of the US in purely Laotion matters. It is also an attempt to wreck the government of National Union formed by agreement of the three Laotion groups, and prevent the convening of an international conference of the 14 Geneva conference nations on Laos. The gross interference in other countries affairs by the US Imperialists, is once more revealed.

The continuous subversion and arbitrary interference of the US Imperialists in Laotion affairs has gravely jeopardised peace in Indo China and must be strenuously opposed.

The AAJA fully supports the demands for the immediate convening of an international conference of the 14 Geneva conference nations and believe that only such a conference can ensure peace in Laos and strengthen the National Union Government of Laos formed by the mutual agreement of the three Laotion groups.

We further call for the immediate cessation of US Imperialists intervention, and condemn such gross intervention as a fragrant violation of the Geneva accord.

NEWS and VIEWS

JAPAN

* The 9th General Meeting of the Japan Congress of Journalists held in Tokyo on June 20th adopted various far reaching resolutions. The well attended 9th General Meeting called on the Japanese democratic journalists to oppose the US policy of war and aggression and expressed wholehearted support for the South Korean people in opposing repressive measures taken by the Pak Jung Hi regime against the press. The General meeting also reaffirmed solidarity with the Afro-Asian journalists and decided to help promote the holding of the tenth world Conference against atomic and hydrogen bombs.

INDONESIA.

* For continuously and with malicious intent pursuing a policy of slander and malreporting against the Republic of Indonesia, certain numbers of the Yankee journal NEWS WEEK. one of the chief interpreters of US aggressive policies were banned in Indonesia. We fully support the stand taken by the Indonesian authorrities and condemn this cheap yellow journalese as maliciously provocative and anti Afro-Asian.

KENYA.

* A vigorous protest against the recent attacks by certain elements on the AAJA has been voiced by our colleague K. Munyi from Kenya, who calls these crude attacks as nothing but attempts to force other peoples ideas on the Afro Asian journalists united in the AAJA. We can assure colleague Munyi that we have received similar indignant notes of protests from various other colleagues, and that together we will build the AAJA into a mighty anti-imperialist/anti colonialist AA journalist body.

A.A.I.C.

* The Preparatory Conference of the Afro-Asian Islamic Conference held in Djakarta. Indonesia, from the 6th June to the 13th June, was a great success. The AAJA welcomed the holding of this Preparatory Conference which decided to use the decisions of the Meeting of Ministers in Preparation for the Second Afro-Asian Conference as a basis.

SECOND ASIAN ECONOMIC SEMINAR.

* Held in Pongyang has attracted much attention. Because of its pertinence and far reaching decisions we will deal in the Document-Report section in detail with the result and the purpose of the Seminar.

AAJA.

* Colleagues will notice in this issue and all the forthcoming ones that we use the term AFRO-ASIAN JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION and not Asian African Journalists' Association. This is in conformity to the decisions taken at the Meeting of Ministers in Preparation for the Second Afro Asian Conference, decisions which we boldly and heartily support.

LAOS

* The latest massacre of Laotian and Chinese at Khang Khay by the US imperialists and its lackeys, is a gross act of murder, and fragrant violation of the 1962 Geneva Agreements. This wantom act of aggression gives the lie to those elements who are always telling us that imperialism has changed its nature, and that we can coexist with them. We hope to fully expose these Yankee violations in our coming issues, and ask all our colleagues to vigorously protest against these violations.

AAJ DAY.

* Reports are still coming in from various parts of Afro Asia re : the April 24th AAJ DAY celebrations. Our Colleague, Jene Errene, from Mauritius informs us that they had a well attended gathering at the "Golden Tourist Hotel, Port Louis, where very interesting aspects concerning the press were discussed, also that some papers had write ups about the 24th.

In Kenya the Kenyan Journalists hold a very interesting meeting celebrating the 24th.

SOUTH KOREA.

* More and more South Korean journalists and journals are now the victims of the fascist regime in South Korea. The latest banning of the journalists from the radio is a further attempt to completely silence all opposition to the Pak Jung Hi clique. However we are sure that just as Syghman Rhee had to quit so will Pak Jung Hi. What we are definitely sure of is that the time will soon come when the South Korean people will be completely free from the US imperialists and their puppets.

SOUTH AFRICA.

* In a strong worded statement the Secretariat denounced the vicious sentences of life imprisonment imposed on journalist Govan Mbeki, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the other revolutionaries in South Africa by the minority fascist Verwoerd regime. These vicious sentences the statement adds will not extinguish the spirit of struggle and sacrifice that the South African people are making to free themselves from minority White rule and monopoly capital.

MALAWI

* On the ocassion of Independence of Malawi, the Secretariat sent a telegram to the Minister of Information, congratulating the Malawi people, government and journalists under the leadership of Dr. Hastings Banda. It is only through the sacrifice and struggle of many years that the Malawi people have now successfully destroyed the British, Wellensky imposed Federation. Our wholehearted support to Malawi in their now new task of recontruction.

AFRO-ASIAN JOURNALIST

* For the information of our French speaking colleagues, the editorial board of 'the Afro Asian Journalist' will soon publish a French edition. Due to certain technical difficulties we could not start earlier, but we now feel confident that the French edition will soon see light.

the Afro-Asian Journalist

* Editorial Board : Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.
* Secretary-General : Djawoto.
  Deputy Secretary-General : Joesoef.
* Address : Press House, Djakarta, Republic of Indonesia.
* Monthly Review of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.
* Published in the Interest of Afro-Asian Journalists' Solidarity, and of the struggle against Imperialism/Colonialism/Neo-Colonialism.

"Patrice Lumumba is dead. But his Indomitable spirit in placing his country on the map of Africa as an independent and sovereign State will continue to guide and inspire the struggling countries of Asia and Africa in achieving their own independence. His gruesome murder not only shocked the conscience of the civilized world but convinced it beyond doubt that unless imperialism and colonialism are buried a hundred fathoms deep there will be no peace in the world. The happenings in the Congo, Angola, South Africa, Palestine and Kashmir vividly illustrate the varied conspiratorial forms the imperialists and colonialists can assume and the extent to which they can go in achieving their nefarious ends.

"At the earliest opportunity, the journalists of Asia and Africa who met in Djakarta for the first time in April 1963, condemned the foul murder of Lumumba in the strongest terms possible. But the Journalists of Indonesia deserve our highest admiration for their initiative and noble ideals in establishing at Djakarta the Patrice Lumumba Foundation that aims at building a library and a publishing house for publishing material concerning all aspects of life of Asian and African nations in particular and the new emerging forces in general. No better tribute can be paid to the memory of the Great Hero and Patriot of the Congo than the setting up of the Patrice Lumumba Foundation which will be a fresh source of unity and solidarity among the Afro-Asian nations."

Asrar Ahmad

(Pres. Federal Union of Journalists — Pakistan, and Secretary to the AAJA)

Printed
by
GITA KARYA
DJAKARTA — INDONESIA